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EARLY SPANISH VOYAGES

TO THE

STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

SECOND SERIES

No. XXVIII

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EXPLORERS
JAMES B. FORD
CLUB

EARLY SPANISH VOYAGES

TO THE

STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

WITH A PREFACE, INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

Robert
SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B.,
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

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PREFACE

THE early voyages to Magellan's Strait have always received attention from the Council of the Hakluyt Society. The narratives of the voyage of Magellan were edited by Lord Stanley of Alderley in 1874. Previously, in 1854, Mr Vaux had edited *Drake's World Encompassed* for the Society. The voyages of Sarmiento in Magellan's Strait were edited and issued to Members of the Society in 1895. The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins in the Strait were reprinted for the Society in 1878. The voyage of John Davis, edited by Admiral Sir Albert Markham, was issued in 1880. In 1906 our Secretary, Mr de Villiers, translated and edited the voyages of Speilbergen, Le Maire and Schouten.

All these works contain narratives of the greatest interest and importance. Several other voyages in the same direction remained to be edited, and it is the object of the present volume to supply the members of the Hakluyt Society with the means of acquiring a knowledge of some of these.

The second voyage through the Strait of Magellan was despatched with the same object as the first under Magellan. The Instructions to the Comendador Loaysa, who commanded the fleet to undertake this

second voyage, have been preserved by Herrera. A most interesting narrative of the Loaysa expedition was written by Andres de Urdaneta. The more detailed sailing directions for Magellan's Strait by the Pilot Uriarte have also been preserved, as well as the story of the voyage of the little pinnace *Santiago* to the coast of Mexico. Hernan Cortes sent an expedition under Sayavedra, from a port on the west coast of Mexico, to ascertain the fate of Loaysa's people. The narrative of that ill-fated voyage was written by Vicencio of Naples, who was on board Sayavedra's ship.

These five documents complete the story of the second voyage through Magellan's Strait. They have all been translated and edited, and are printed in their order in this volume, with introductions.

The third voyage in this volume is that which was despatched under the command of Simon de Alcazaba, who was appointed Governor of that part of South America situated to the south of the grant made to Diego Almagro. It would have included Patagonia. The story of the fate of Alcazaba and of the sufferings of his people was told by one of them, Alonso (Veedor). It has been translated for this volume.

There is only a fragment of one of the journals kept on board the second ship of the expedition of Alonso de Camargo in 1540. The object of that expedition was to reach the west coast of South America by way of the Strait, and to open a sea route from Spain. Camargo himself did actually reach Callao, and was thus the first to complete the voyage from Spain to Peru and Chile, by the Strait of Magellan. But no narrative has been preserved. The second ship was

blown out of the Strait. The name of the captain or master has not been preserved, but he appears to have discovered Staten Island and the Strait of Le Maire, and to have wintered in the Beagle Channel. This gives importance to the fragment of the journal which has been preserved. It has, therefore, been translated for the present volume.

The last narrative in the volume is that of the Nodals, two distinguished naval officers who, in consequence of the discoveries of Schouten and Le Maire, were sent to examine those discoveries and make a reconnaissance of the Strait of Magellan in 1619. It was a well conducted and successful expedition, the Nodals being the first navigators to circumnavigate Tierra del Fuego.

It has been considered most convenient that Introductions to each voyage should precede the translated narratives.

There was one voyage of great interest undertaken by Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza, the youthful Governor of Chile, to explore Magellan Strait from the west side, the first navigation from west to east. The command was entrusted to Juan Ladrillero, who sailed from Valdivia, the most southern port of Chile, in November 1557. Ladrillero wintered in the Strait, made a careful survey as far as Cape Virgins, and suffered fearful hardships. Only three men survived to return to Valdivia, including Ladrillero himself. There are said to be two manuscripts of the Journal of Ladrillero, in the Archives at Seville, but I have hitherto failed in my efforts to obtain a copy. The meagre facts of the voyage are known through extracts having been taken from the manuscript journal and published in the

Relacion of Antonio Cordova (1788). Only half a dozen lines are given to the voyage of Ladrillero by Cristoval Suarez de Figueroa, in his life of Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza (afterwards Marquis of Cañete and Viceroy of Peru), and the date of the voyage places it beyond the scope of Herrera's great work. Some day I hope to obtain a copy of Ladrillero's manuscript journal.

I have to thank Mr Reeves, the Map Curator of the Royal Geographical Society, for much valuable assistance in connection with Nodal's rules for finding the variation of the compass, the table for duration of daylight, and his calculations for tides.

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

EXPEDITION OF THE COMENDADOR LOAYSA

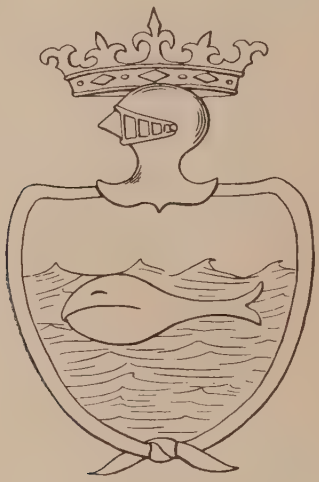
AND

JUAN SEBASTIAN DEL CANO

THE expedition of the Comendador Loaysa and Sebastian del Cano had the same object as the expedition of Magellan, to reach the Spice Islands by the western route and occupy them for the king of Spain. Del Cano was accompanied by his friend Andres de Urdaneta. The whole story of the Spanish expeditions to gain possession of the Malucos is covered by the lives of the two great navigators Sebastian del Cano, the first circumnavigator of the globe, and Andres de Urdaneta, the discoverer of the route from the Eastern Archipelago to America. There cannot therefore be a more appropriate introduction to the expedition of Loaysa, than biographical notices of these two Basque worthies.

The home of Sebastian del Cano was the very quaint little seaport of Guetaria on the coast of Guipuzcoa; about three miles to the west of Zarauz. A rocky promontory juts out into the Bay of Biscay with precipitous cliffs on the east and west sides, and a valley between. In this depression the town of Guetaria was built, receiving its charter in the 13th century. On the land side are the old walls, with the fives court, and open air ball room outside. There are three streets, the two side ones being much higher than the Calle Mayor. In the rear of the western

side street there is a vineyard and a grove of fig trees, to which doors open from the highest story of the houses, and from the other end of the vineyard there is a sheer precipice down to the sea. Two or three old palaces or *casas solares* remain, one in ruins, and over the first house in the main street are the arms of the town, a whale with waves of the



sea. The street has to pass under the church by a vaulted passage leading to the island of San Anton, otherwise there would be no space for the sacred edifice. This old church of the 13th century is built of the soft reddish sandstone from San Anton. It is necessarily short owing to the extremely limited space, but lofty and well proportioned. It is dedicated to San Salvador. Two long flights of steps lead to the high altar. In the sixteenth century there were other small churches and chapels now disappeared.

The town is connected with the rocky island of San Anton by a solidly built causeway, and while to the westward the waves of the Bay of Biscay crash wildly against it, to the east, where there is an entrance to the boat harbour, a smooth anchorage is formed. The handy

C.R.M. del.

Guetaria and the Isle of San Anton.

C.R.M. del.

Guetaria. The birthplace of Sebastian del Cano, from the Isle of San Anton.

seamen of Guetaria attacked and captured the whales (*Balaena Biscayensis*) which then frequented those seas, in their boats, warning of a whale in sight being signalled from the *atalayas* on the surrounding mountains. These Basque sailors were the founders of the whale fishery, as the arms of their town records[1].

The hills in front of the town are precipitous, but wherever they are not absolutely perpendicular, there are vineyards in steep terraces, and higher up groves of chestnut trees, with an undergrowth of myrtles and ferns. Some of the slopes are pink with heather, while honeysuckles climb over the jutting rocks. From these lovely highlands the peak of Aitzgorri, rising to over 5,000 feet, is visible.

In the western street of Guetaria once stood the *casa solar* of the family of del Cano[2]. Every Basque, being a free warrior, was noble ("Hidalgo") according to the ideas of the middle ages, there could be no execution in their houses, and their horses and arms could not be seized[3]. But the del Canos were also gentlemen of coat-armour, according to the Spanish heralds[4]. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the old *casa solar* at Guetaria was occupied by Don Domingo Sebastian del Cano and Doña Catalina del Puerto his wife. They were blessed with

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[1] The Basque towns of St Jean de Luz, Fuenterrabia, Motrico, Lequeitio, and Bermeo also had a whale for their arms. The word *harpoon* is of Basque derivation.

[2] Burnt in the fire of 1597.

[3] *Fuero. Tit.* XVI.

[4] Geronimo de Villa, king at arms in 1642, recorded that Sebastian del Cano was entitled to bear the arms of the ancient *Casa Solar* of de el Cano Varrena (*argent three bars azure, a border of eight alternate gules, a star or, and or a wolf sable*). The king at arms recorded these family arms quartered with the augmentation granted on May 20th, 1523 by Charles V (*parted per fess, in chief gules a castle or, in base gules semée of cloves, two sticks of cinnamon saltire-wise between three nutmegs proper*) Crest *a globe and* the motto, "*Primus circumdedisti me.*" *Supporters the kings of Gilolo and Tidore.* The arms are also given in *Nobiliario de Conquistadores de Indias* by Señor Don A. Paz y Melia (*Madrid* 1892), p. 57, *lamina* XLI.

seven children, five boys and two girls. These children only spoke the Basque language, called by them "*Euskara.*" They knew the mountains and valleys in the neighbourhood of their home from San Sebastian to the mouth of the Deva. The eldest son remained at Guetaria to make a home for his family, the second was destined for the priesthood, and the third, Juan Sebastian, became the famous navigator. He may have been born in 1492, and his first boyish experience of the sea may have been in one or two of the perilous encounters with whales within sight of his home. But he soon left Guetaria to acquire knowledge and experience as a sailor and navigator and to learn the Spanish language[1]. For he was not more than 18 when he served in the expedition of the great Cardinal Cisneros, at the taking of Oran. Young Juan Sebastian must have been endowed with remarkable ability and power of acquiring knowledge, for he was still quite young when he was able to raise money sufficient to become captain and owner of a ship of 200 tons, employed in the public service, in the Levant and on the African coast. But the government neglected to pay for those services, the creditors became pressing, and young del Cano was obliged to satisfy them by selling his ship, which he did to some Genoese merchants[2]. He found afterwards that it was illegal to sell a ship to foreigners. He was thus threatened with prosecution, and was living at Seville in danger of imprisonment when Magellan's expedition, to find a way to the Spice Islands by the west, was fitting out.

The expedition consisted of five ships under the command of Magellan. The two Portuguese adventurers who had undertaken to find a strait from the Atlantic to

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[1] The style of his Will shows that Spanish was not the native language of del Cano. He frequently omits the article in his sentences, and his tenses are not always correct.

[2] Unos mercaderes vasallos de Duque de Saboya.

the South Sea so that the Spanish king could enforce his claim to the Spice Islands by reaching them from the west, were Fernando Magellan and Estevan Gomez. Both were on board the *Trinidad* of 110 tons, the former as Captain General of the fleet, the latter as Chief Pilot. The *San Antonio* was commanded by a royal officer, who was Overseer of the Fleet, named Juan de Cartagena, a cousin of the Bishop of Burgos. The Royal Treasurer, named Luis de Mendoza, had command of the *Victoria* of 85 tons. The *Concepcion*, of 90 tons, was commanded by an officer named Don Gaspar de Quesada. A Portuguese named Juan Serrano was given the *Santiago* of 75 tons. The five ships formed a well supplied fleet.

Don Gaspar de Quesada secured the services of Sebastian del Cano as master of his ship. Sebastian had already commanded a much larger ship than any in Magellan's fleet. The pilot was a Portuguese named Carvalho. Del Cano induced eight other Basques to ship with him. The mate, Juan de Acurio, was a young sailor aged 25, from Bermeo, the native place of the poet Ercilla. The caulker was from Bermeo, and the carpenter was from Deva, a place well known to del Cano. Four of the seamen and the young page also hailed from Bermeo.

The expedition sailed from San Lucar on the 12th of September 1519. Magellan had positive orders not to take more than five of his own countrymen[1], and to consult the captains and royal officers respecting the conduct of the voyage. In defiance of the king's instructions Magellan not only shipped over thirty Portuguese including several supernumeraries capable of commanding the ships, but he refused to take counsel with the royal officers respecting the route.

Don Juan de Cartagena had remonstrated and was put

[1] *Navarrete* IV. p. 160.

under arrest[1]. Off the coast of Brazil the command of his ship, the *San Antonio*, was given to a Portuguese cousin of Magellan, and Cartagena was sent on board the *Concepcion*. There was great discontent. Quesada and Cartagena consulted together and decided upon resistance, to enforce compliance with the king's instructions.

Sebastian del Cano and the other officers of the *Concepcion* were placed in a very difficult position. Their captain must have represented to them that the foreigner who had been appointed Captain General was disregarding the king's instructions, and that he intended to get complete possession of the fleet for his own purposes by substituting his own Portuguese friends for the royal officers in command of the ships. The truth of these statements seemed to be proved by what had happened on board the *San Antonio*.

The young master of the *Concepcion*, under these circumstances, thought that it was his duty to obey his captain. When he was ordered to man the boat and go on board the *San Antonio* to take possession, he obeyed the orders of his superior officer. When his captain ordered him to take charge of the *San Antonio* he did so. This took place at Port San Julian, on the west coast of Patagonia, on April 2nd, 1520.

The mutiny was put down. Mendoza was treacherously murdered, and the murderer received payment in money from Magellan[2]. His body was quartered. Quesada was beheaded. Cartagena and a priest were left on shore to perish. Some authorities state that forty others were condemned to death, but pardoned. Del Cano and his shipmates in the *Concepcion* must have been among the

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[1] He had a special right to be consulted as he was appointed to be Magellan's *conjunta persona* or colleague.

[2] Evidence of del Cano and of Francisco Albo. *Navarrete* IV. p. 288 and p. 291.

forty. If such slaughter had been attempted, the victims would certainly have resisted and would have had the sympathy, probably the active support, of their comrades. Magellan was a hard man, unfeeling and tactless. But he would never have been so unwise as to destroy all chance of the success of the expedition by attempting further acts of violence. He had gained his ends. His Portuguese friends were now in command of all the ships; contrary to the king's intentions, and in defiance of his instructions. The *Concepcion* was given to Juan de Serrano who had lost his own little vessel, the *Santiago*, off the Santa Cruz river.

The expedition proceeded southwards and on the 21st of October, the Feast of St Ursula, a cape was sighted and named the Cape of 11,000 Virgins. To the south of it there was a wide opening. Magellan, with the *Trinidad* and *Victoria*, remained at the entrance, while the *Concepcion* and the *San Antonio*, with Estevan Gomez, the Chief Pilot, on board, were sent forward to ascertain whether the opening was a bay or a strait. The two ships passed through both narrows and penetrated far enough to make certain that there was a strait. In this cruise Sebastian del Cano added largely to his experience. When Magellan received the news he proceeded through the strait, but the *San Antonio* was missing. Gomez was naturally discontented when others received command of the ships and he, the most distinguished of the Portuguese, was left out. He had also disapproved of Magellan's proceedings at Port San Julian. Inducing others to join him he overpowered the captain, who was a cousin of Magellan, and got possession of the *San Antonio*. He first proceeded to Port San Julian, to rescue Cartagena, but the unfortunate captain was not to be found. He then returned to Spain and told his own story, which was fairly truthful[1]. The

[1] It is contained in a letter from the accountant Juan Lopez de Recalde to the Bishop of Burgos. *Navarrete* IV. p. 201.

Council of the Indies at once ordered a ship to go to Port San Julian for the rescue of Cartagena[1].

After the desertion of the *San Antonio,* Magellan became alarmed. The ruthless executions at Port San Julian had aroused the hatred of those who had served under the ill-fated captains, for which he did not much care, but he found that there was also a universal feeling of fear and discontent, while the desertion of the *San Antonio* showed that this feeling was by no means confined to the Spaniards. He began to see that his habitual indifference to the feelings of others was becoming dangerous. On November 21st, 1520 he issued a General Order which was intended to be conciliatory. He said that he was a man who never despised the opinion or advice of any one, that he wished his proceedings to be known to all so that no one might have cause of complaint, and that they were not to refrain through fear, owing to what happened at Port San Julian, from giving him information or advice. The order was so completely at variance with all that had gone before that it quite failed in its conciliatory object. Sebastian del Cano thought it wiser not to put pen to paper until after Magellan's death, and the others probably followed his example[2].

During the long voyage across the Pacific del Cano was gaining experience, and after crossing the line he must have watched the course that was steered with some surprise. For Magellan was not shaping a course for the Spice Islands

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[1] *Herrera*, Dec. III. cap. IV. p. 7.

[2] The Master and Mate of the *Trinidad* kept logs. The Mate brought his journal home with him. The Master, Juan Bautista Poncevera, is no doubt the so-called *Genoese Pilot* whose journal has been published. But only one answer to Magellan's General Order is known to have been written, by the Pilot Andres de San Martin.

The General Order, and the reply of San Martin, fell into the hands of the Portuguese. They were published by Barros *Dec.* 3, *Lib.* 5 *cap.* 9; and are also given by *Navarrete* IV. pp. 45—47. As any other replies, if they were written, would have been filed with that of San Martin, it may be inferred that no others were ever written.

in accordance with his instructions. He was making direct for China. He told Poncevera, the Master of his ship[1], when they were in the latitude of the Spice Islands, that he had information that there were no provisions at Maluco, an extraordinary statement, and that he was, therefore, going in a northerly direction. His intentions will never be known.

On reaching the Philippine Islands Magellan mixed himself up in the feuds of the natives with extraordinary recklessness and want of judgment. These feuds were in no way connected with the duty on which he was employed. The result was his own death in an obscure skirmish. His Portuguese friend, Duarte Barbosa, who succeeded, acted with even greater unwisdom. The result of Magellan's defeat and death would certainly be a loss of prestige. The necessity for adopting a policy of extreme caution should have been apparent, yet the very next day Barbosa accepted an invitation to a native feast, insisting upon the company of the principal officers of the expedition. The consequence was the massacre of all the Europeans who were on shore, upwards of thirty, including the Portuguese captains. Fortunately, del Cano was ill[2], and unable to accompany Barbosa.

The Portuguese pilot Carvalho then induced the survivors to elect him as commander. The numbers were so reduced that it had become necessary to get rid of one of the ships. The *Concepcion* was selected. She was burnt and sunk, her people being distributed in the other two ships, in sufficient numbers to make up crews for the *Trinidad* and *Victoria*.

Carvalho was soon found to be quite unfit for the

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[1] "The Genoese Pilot" whose journal fell into the hands of the Portuguese and was published, was, I have no doubt, Juan Bautista Poncevera, the Genoese master of Magellan's ship.

[2] *Navarrete* IV. p. 290.

command. He was deposed, and the Alguazil Mayor, Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa, was chosen in his place to command the expedition on board the *Trinidad*[1]. Sebastian del Cano was elected to be Captain of the *Victoria*. The fleet of the king of Spain was at length commanded by Spaniards devoted to his service. The two ships were now in good hands and all that could be done to carry out the objects of the expedition was done. The *Trinidad* and *Victoria* were safely navigated to the Spice Islands, friendly relations were established with the kings of Tidore and Gilolo, and cargoes of spices were obtained. The *Trinidad* was leaking badly, and unfit for a long voyage without a complete overhaul. It was, therefore, decided that Sebastian del Cano should take the *Victoria* back to Spain by the Cape of Good Hope, while Espinosa, after a thorough repair of the *Trinidad* at Tidore, was to make his way, with another cargo of spices, to the west coast of Mexico. A store house was built at Tidore, and five men were left there under Juan de Campos, the purser of the *Concepcion*, to have charge of the spices, and to see that cargoes were ready for the next Spanish fleet that arrived.

Sebastian del Cano was by far the best navigator among the survivors. He had a most difficult and perilous duty to perform in bringing the little *Victoria* of 85 tons, leaking and ill found, safely back to Spain, and thus circumnavigating the globe. But he was fully capable, in spite of dangers from capture by the Portuguese, from sickness, and from bad weather. From the time of Magellan's death, Sebastian del Cano kept a Journal[2], writing down all that happened ;

[1] He was the paid murderer of Don Luis de Mendoza, captain of the *Victoria*. Still he may have thought he was doing his duty on that occasion.

[2] The Journal of Sebastian del Cano was delivered by him to the royal secretary Samano. The secretary Samano was the founder of the house of the Marquises of Vellavenazar. In course of time this marquisate merged with that of Valverde. It is possible that the Journal may yet be found among the archives of the Valverde family.

and Francisco Albo, who had been Mate in the *Trinidad*, also kept a log[1].

The first circumnavigator of the globe brought the little *Victoria* safely back to San Lucar, with 35 survivors of the ill-fated expedition. The cargo consisted of over 520 quintals of cloves, besides mace, nutmegs, cinnamon, and sandal wood. It was delivered to Diego Diaz, agent to the great merchant Cristoval de Haro who was the royal agent for spices, and who had financed the expedition. All the crew had been allowed their *quintaladas* or spaces for private merchandize, according to a fixed scale.

The reception of the great navigator was enthusiastic. As Navarrete very truly said, Sebastian del Cano showed unequalled ability as a navigator, he never for one moment doubted the salvation of the ship, and his constancy was above all praise. He was sent for by the Emperor and was received at the court of Valladolid. The first proceeding was to appoint an official, the Alcalde Leguisamo, to receive the evidence of del Cano, and two of his shipmates, Hernando Bustamante and Francisco Albo, respecting the events at the port of San Julian. They were asked the reasons of the discord between Magellan and the other captains, why Magellan ordered Luis de Mendoza to be killed, and whether the Alguazil was promised a reward for the murder, why Quesada was put to death and Cartagena was abandoned to his fate, was the object to give the command of the ships to Portuguese, why did Magellan remain for such a long time in the ports at which he touched, wasting the provisions. There were other questions, but these were the principal ones. The answers of del Cano were corroborated by the other witnesses, and were considered

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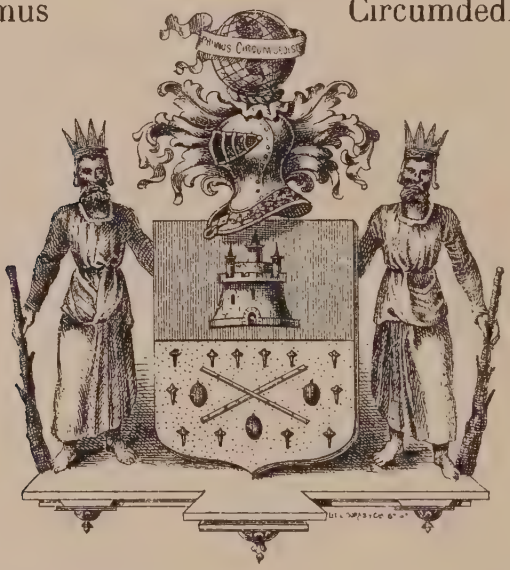
[1] Published by Navarrete, and translated by Lord Stanley of Alderley.

satisfactory. The report of Leguisamo is dated October 18th, 1522.

Sebastian del Cano then received his well earned but very moderate rewards. He was granted a full pardon for having sold his ship to foreigners[1]. He was also granted a special coat of arms commemorative of his services, with the globe as a crest and the motto PRIMUS CIRCUMDEDISTI ME. The grant is dated May 20th, 1523. He was further granted a

Primus Circumdedisti me.



pension of 500 golden ducats a year, by a royal order dated the 23rd of January 1523. But it was never paid during his lifetime. As there were envious persons who were seeking an opportunity to wound or kill him, he also received licence to go out accompanied by two men fully armed. This order was dated at Burgos on May 20th, 1524.

The circumnavigation of the globe by Sebastian del

[1] See page 4.

Cano, and his proceedings at the Malucos at once raised the question whether the Spice Islands were within the Spanish or the Portuguese line. The Papal Bull of May 4th, 1493 placed a line 100 leagues west of the Azores, all to the westward being granted to Spain. The king of Portugal complained of this line and it was agreed that it should be moved further to the westward. By the Treaty of Tordesillas, dated June 7th, 1494, it was placed at 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands. Owing to the reports of Sebastian del Cano, it was agreed between the Emperor Charles V and the King of Portugal that competent persons should be appointed on each side to discuss and decide upon the disputed question whether the Spice Islands fell within the Spanish or Portuguese line, as fixed by the Treaty of Tordesillas.

The deputies were to meet, in March 1524, on the boundary of Castille and Portugal, between the cities of Badajos and Elvas. There were to be pilots, cosmographers and other witnesses; and the cases were to be finally drawn up by experts and men of letters, who were called "Judges of Possession." The six judges included Hernando Colon and Sebastian del Cano. It is interesting that an intimacy should thus have been formed between the learned son of the discoverer of the New World and the first circumnavigator. Among the assessors were Estevan Gomez[1], Juan

[1] Estevan Gomez was a Portuguese born at Oporto, but he entered the Spanish service, and was appointed a pilot in 1518. He had the same ideas as Magellan respecting a strait and helped to discover it. His reasons for bringing back the *San Antonio* were accepted, and he was appointed to attend the Badajos conference. He had conceived the idea that there might be another strait to the north, and he was allowed to fit out a caravel for its discovery. In February 1525 he sailed from Coruña in a 50-ton caravel, and examined the coast of North America, from Florida to Cape Breton, returning in November. It was a well-conducted expedition. A chart was prepared by Diego Ribero (1529) showing the discoveries of Gomez from 33° 10′ N. to Cape Breton.

Vespucci, Sebastian Cabot, Diego Ribero the cartographer, the Master Alcaraz, and twelve of the crew of the *Victoria*. The principal Portuguese judge was Diego Lopez de Sequeira, late Governor General of Portuguese India.

The first meeting was on the frontier bridge of Caya, and afterwards the deputies met alternately at Badajos and Elvas, examining maps, charts and reports, and arguing for their respective claims. Sebastian del Cano had prepared a chart showing the Spanish claim in detail, which he very clearly explained at one of the meetings held at Elvas. The Portuguese deputies disputed the accuracy of the Spanish contention, proposed delays, and relied mainly on the point that they were in possession. No conclusion could be reached. An able report of the Spanish case was, therefore, drawn up[1] and signed by Sebastian del Cano, and the other "Judges of Possession[2]."

Del Cano returned to the court at Valladolid, where the course to be taken in consequence of the failure of the Badajos conference was considered. No news had arrived of the *Trinidad*, or of the proceedings of Espinosa, and some anxiety was felt about the Spaniards who were left in charge at Tidore[3].

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[1] *Parecer de los astronomos y pilotos Españoles de la Junta de Badajos sobre la demarcacion y propriedad de las Islas del Maluco*, 1 June 1524.

San Antonio (Cape Verdes) is in 25 W. The line, 370 leagues from the Cape Verdes, would therefore be in 47 W. As Spain and Portugal were to have half the world each, they were each entitled to 180; Spain counting west from 47 W., Portugal counting east from 47 W. 180 W. from 47 W. comes to 133 E. The Spice Islands are in 127 E. Consequently they belonged to Portugal. The Portuguese wanted to count from Sal, the most eastern of the Cape Verdes in 23 W., instead of from San Antonio in 25 W. This would bring the line to 131 E., and the Spice Islands would still belong to Portugal.

[2] The other signatories were Hernando Colon, Tomas Duran, Dr Zelaya, Pedro Ruiz de Villegas, and the Master Alcaraz.

[3] After completing the repairs of the *Trinidad* Espinosa had sailed for Mexico, but was unable to make headway. He returned and

It was finally resolved to send another expedition to the Spice Islands, by way of the new strait. It was to be fitted out at Coruña, and was to consist of four large ships, two caravels, and a *pataca* or pinnace. This time, to avoid discord, there were to be no Portuguese. The command was given to a veteran soldier the Comendador Garcia Jofre de Loaysa. Sebastian del Cano was to be Captain of a ship, Chief Pilot, second in command, and to succeed Loaysa (who was to be Governor of the Malucos) as Captain General and Admiral of the fleet.

While at court Sebastian del Cano made the acquaintance of the historian Oviedo, and had several conversations with him. Del Cano had a daughter at Valladolid by a lady named Maria de Vita Urreta. He had been long detained at court by important business, but at length, when his position in the new expedition had been settled, he was able to go to his home at Guetaria.

The great navigator must have felt a thrill of joy, when after so long an absence he once more saw the well-remembered home, and the haunts of his boyhood. He found his mother still living in the old "*casa solar*" with her eldest son who was married and had two sons. The

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surrendered to the Portuguese at Ternate with 17 officers and men. He and his people were badly treated. Artificers were detained. Others were sent to Malacca and Cochin. Juan Bautista de Poncevera Master of the *Trinidad* fled from Cochin and reached Mozambique, where he was captured and put in irons. He died there. Anton Moreno of the *Trinidad* was sold as a slave at Malacca. Finally Espinosa reached Valladolid on August 2nd, 1527, with three survivors: Gines de Mafra, Leon Pancaldo, and Juan Rodriguez the deaf. Another, Hans Vargue or Arce, the gunner, died in a Lisbon prison.

When Espinosa surrendered, he found the five Spaniards, who were left in charge at Tidore, in irons in the Portuguese port at Ternate. They were Juan de Campos, the purser of the *Concepcion*, Diego Arias, Alonso a Genoese, Luis de Molino and Maestre Pedro. They were seized by the Portuguese at Tidore, the store house burnt, while the kings of Tidore and Gilolo were attacked and their towns burnt for giving cargoes of spices to del Cano and Espinosa.

second son was a priest at Guetaria. Del Cano's two sisters were married, the eldest to a gentleman named Gainza[1], and the second to a very able and experienced seaman named Santiago de Guevara. For a very short space could del Cano enjoy the pleasure of being with his relations, and visiting with them the haunts of his childhood. He had to busy himself with the important work of recruiting and fitting out the expedition.

It was arranged that Sebastian del Cano's favourite brother, Martin Perez, should go with him, while the youngest, Anton Martin, was to be assistant to the pilot in the caravel *Parrel.* The brother-in-law Santiago de Guevara was to command the little *pataca* or pinnace which was named the *Santiago.* Many Basque friends, good men and true, volunteered to serve under their distinguished countryman. Among them were the gallant chaplain Arreizaga of Zumarraga, and above all the future explorer Andres de Urdaneta. Del Cano also took two of his old shipmates in the *Concepcion*, Bustamante, the barber surgeon, and Roldan de Argote the gunner[2].

The time to leave Guetaria came all too soon. Del Cano left a little son there named Domingo, whose mother's name was Mari Hernialde. His own mother, Doña Catalina, had to part with three of her sons on a perilous voyage, to wait long years for tidings of their fate and, though she lived for eight years longer, she was never destined to see them again.

Sebastian del Cano arrived at Coruña with a goodly company and was very busily engaged, for several months,

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[1] The present representative of Sebastian del Cano is descended from the great navigator's nephew. In 1880 the representative was Don Ramon de Lardizabal y Amezqueta.

[2] A mountain seen from Magellan Strait was named, after Roldan de Argote the gunner, *Campana de Roldan.* It is 2780 feet high, in latitude 53° 58′ 30″ S., longitude 71° 46′ W.

in fitting out the expedition. The Captain General Loaysa appears to have been popular, and del Cano was loyally attached to him. The *quintaladas* were allowed, and del Cano was in partnership with the Royal Agent, Diego de Covarrubias, as regards their private merchandize.

On the 24th of July, 1524 the well-equipped fleet of the Comendador Loaysa sailed from Coruña. The events of the voyage are well told in the narrative of Urdaneta, while the pilot Uriarte gives sailing directions for the Strait of Magellan. The service in the strait was very trying, and as the ship approached the line, in the voyage across the Pacific, Sebastian del Cano lost his health, and felt that his end was not far off. He made his will on the 26th of July, 1526. The witnesses were six of his Basque countrymen, including the pilot Martin de Uriarte, and the captain Andres de Urdaneta. He appointed the Comendador Loaysa, and his own brother Martin Perez, to be executors. His fortune consisted of the arrears of his pension which had never yet been paid, and of pay due as captain of the *Victoria*. Cristoval de Haro, the great merchant and financier, and agent to the expedition at Coruña, was to collect what was due to the testator. Del Cano left the bulk of his property to his mother for her life, and then to his little son Domingo. But there were numerous legacies to relations and friends, and to the churches and chapels at and round Guetaria. The will of Sebastian del Cano helps to reveal to us a very fine character. His mind was full of thoughts of home. Every near relation was remembered, each received an affectionate message, and there were legacies to the parish church at Guetaria, and to well remembered chapels and hermitages, perched on lonely headlands, or nestling in secluded mountain glens. All the home scenes came vividly before the loving spirit as it was about to depart, so far away, on

the vast expanse of ocean under the blaze of a tropical sun.

His piety, his love of home so characteristic of his countrymen, the serenity with which he faced death, his habitual attention to details, and his loyal affection for his chief, all appear in his will.

On the 30th of July the Comendador Loaysa died. His death must have been sudden, or del Cano would hardly have appointed him an executor of his will.

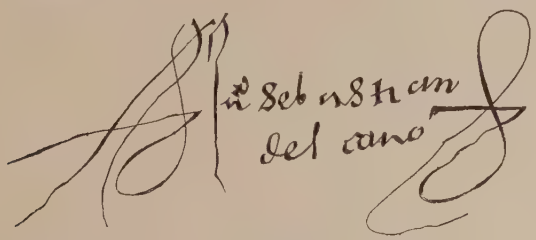
Sebastian del Cano succeeded as Captain General and Admiral of the fleet, but only for six days. On the 4th of August he too breathed his last, attended by his brother, and surrounded by tried and affectionate friends. Sebastian del Cano was a great navigator, with knowledge acquired by long experience and careful study. Among his effects were an almanac in Latin, and a globe on which he worked out and solved the problems of those days. He loved his country and served his king with single-minded devotion. Ever loyal to his immediate chief, del Cano was once placed in a most difficult position. His honesty of purpose, attention to duty, and ability as a navigator at last raised him to a position of the highest trust; and he acquitted himself with credit. He was the right man in the right place; and so, without any self-seeking, his name became immortal. He was the first circumnavigator. Of his more loveable qualities, as a son and a brother, a warm friend, and a trusty shipmate, his will appears to bear sure though silent witness.

His memory was preserved in the hearts of his countrymen. One of them placed a slab with the following inscription in the church of his native town of Guetaria.

ESTA ES LA SEPULTURA[1]
DEL INSIGNE CAPITAN
JUAN SEBASTIAN DE EL
CANO[2] VECINO Y NATURAL
DE ESTA NOBLE Y LEAL
VILLA DE GUETARIA
QUE FUE EL PRIMERO QUE
DIO VUELTA AL MUNDO
EN ELNAVIO LA VICTORIA
Y EN MEMORIA DE ESTE HEROE
ANIMOSO MANDO PONER ESTA
LOSA D. PEDRO DE ECHAVE Y ASU
CABALLERO DEL ORDEN DE
CALATRAVA ANO 1671.
RUEGUEN DIOS POR EL

[1] His place of sepulture was the Pacific Ocean, not the church of his native town. Beneath the inscription are the coat of arms, helmet and crest, with the motto TU PRIMUS CIRCUMDEDISTI ME.

[2] The name is spelt here de Elcano, a mistake which originated in the 17th century. He himself signed his will Juan Sebastian del Cano.



Facsimile de la firma del testamento del mismo J. S. del Cano (no Elcano).

The late Don Nicolas de Soraluce of San Sebastian, in his voluminous writings on the subject, has proved beyond any doubt that the illustrious navigator knew how to spell his own name, that del Cano is right, and that de Elcano is wrong.

The first statue to del Cano was erected by Don Manuel Agote, who had resided many years in the Philippines and, returning home, became Alcalde of his

native town of Guetaria. It was of marble and was completed in 1800; Don Miguel de Lardizabal, the repre-

sentative of the family of del Cano, presiding at the inauguration. It was near the entrance to the town; and was destroyed during the first Carlist war. The General Assembly of Guipuzcoa ordered another statue of bronze, which was unveiled in May 1861. It is well placed on a stone platform, and is seen from the coast road, standing nobly out against the sky line.

A biography of Juan Sebastian del Cano was written by Eustachio Fernandez de Navarrete, a grandson of the better known author of the *Colecciones*. It was published at Vitoria in 1872 by Don Nicolas de Soraluce, with the help of the province of Quipuzcoa. There are several songs in the Basque language commemorating the achievement of the great Basque navigator.

Serious, almost fatal calamities had befallen the expedition through the deaths of the leaders and the dispersal of the fleet. But there were many good men and true on board the surviving ship. They were determined to perform the service on which they were employed. They reached the Spice Islands, and established themselves at Tidore and Gilolo, while the Portuguese had a strongly fortified position at Ternate. The gallant Spaniards held out for several years without help, while the Portuguese were frequently reinforced. Hernan Cortes sent a relief expedition from Mexico, and one ship, under Sayavedra, actually arrived at Tidore, but it was of little use. At last the patience of many of the Spaniards was worn out. They were induced to submit to the Portuguese, Bustamante, the treasurer, being the ringleader among the disloyal and fainthearted who thought that they had been abandoned and clean forgotten by their own sovereign. But such loyal men as Hernando de la Torre, the last commander, and Andres de Urdaneta remained steadfast to the last. Finally the news came, through Portuguese sources, that Charles V had sold his right to the Spice

Islands to the king of Portugal. There was nothing more to be done. The few survivors were given passages to Lisbon. The Spaniards at Tidore had not been actually forgotten. An expedition had been fitted out under Sebastian Cabot, who never got beyond the river Plate. Another was being prepared under Alcasaba at the very time when Charles V sold his rights, and of course it was never sent.

The whole story is admirably told in the narrative of Andres de Urdaneta, the friend of Sebastian del Cano. Urdaneta was born at Villafranca, a town in the picturesque valley of the Oria, in 1498. He had been trained as a soldier, and gladly joined the expedition of the Comendador Loaysa. His age was then 26. When the surviving ship of the expedition arrived at Tidore, Urdaneta had already secured an important position on board, by his marked ability. Always loyal to his chiefs he was, under them, the leading spirit in fighting as in diplomacy. Others fell away, but neither a hopeless position, nor the apparent abandonment by his government, could for a moment shake the unswerving loyalty of young Urdaneta to his king and country. When at length he reached Spain, he submitted his most interesting narrative to the king, which concludes with an able report on the trade of the Eastern Archipelago. Fernando de la Torre, the last commander of the Loaysa expedition, also submitted reports[1], but they are not so interesting as that of Urdaneta. The dates differ a good deal which was perhaps to be expected.

After a short stay at home, Urdaneta went out to Mexico. In 1542 he was offered the command of an expedition, but at that time he had determined to retire from the world, and soon afterwards he entered the

[1] *Navarrete* v. pp. 242 to 313, dated from Tidore June 11th, 1528, and Feb. 16th, 1534.

Augustine order. The command of the expedition was then given to Ruz Lopez de Villalobos who was to form a settlement at the Philippines, but he went to Maluco, sending one of his ships, the *San Juan*, back to Mexico under the command of Ynigo Ortiz de Retes. This navigator sailed along the whole north coast of the great Papuan island, giving it the name of New Guinea. But he could not make headway eastward across the Pacific, and returned to Tidore. Then Villalobos surrendered to the Portuguese, and died at Amboyna in 1545.

It will have been seen that the return from the Eastern Archipelago across the Pacific to Mexico had never yet been achieved. Espinosa, Sayavedra, Villalobos, Retes had all attempted it and all had failed disastrously. The correct route for this voyage had become the most important problem in navigation.

At length a successful expedition was fitted out in Mexico, for the settlement of the Philippine Islands. Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, a most efficient soldier of mature age, received the command. Urdaneta had become a monk, but so high an opinion had been formed of his ability, that the king himself requested him to go as chief pilot with Legaspi. He could not refuse. The expedition sailed on the 21st of November, 1564, consisting of the *capitana San Pedro*, the *almiranta San Pablo*, the *San Juan* (100 tons) and *San Lucas* (40 tons). The age of Legaspi was 58, of Urdaneta 66.

This most successful expedition established the power of Spain in the Philippines. A return route across the Pacific to Mexico then became a necessity. It was resolved that Urdaneta should attempt its discovery. He left Zebu on June 1st, 1565, and took a northern course, arriving at Acapulco on October 3rd. From that time there was a regular service between Mexico and the

Philippines by Urdaneta's route. The strange thing is that the Sandwich Islands were not discovered.

Urdaneta died in the convent of San Francisco at Mexico, on the 4th of July, 1568, aged 70. Grijalva, in his *History of Mexico,* says of this distinguished man—"As a soldier, as a navigator, as a preacher, and as a founder of churches, another could not be found to equal Urdaneta."

In this volume the narrative of Urdaneta is followed by the sailing directions for Magellan's Strait by the Pilot Uriarte. They show the care with which the Loaysa expedition was conducted, and the diligence of its officers in collecting useful information for the guidance of future navigators. In the identification of places mentioned by Uriarte, I have followed the writer in the *Anuario Hidrografico de la Marina de Chile* for 1879.

After the Sailing Directions follows the interesting account of the voyage of the little *pataca Santiago* to Tehuantepec, with the heroic conduct of the chaplain Juan de Arreizaga.

The account of the relief expedition under Sayavedra, by one of the survivors named Vicente of Naples, concludes that section of the volume which treats of the expedition of the Comendador Loaysa and Juan Sebastian del Cano.

SURVIVORS OF THE MAGELLAN EXPEDITION

BROUGHT BACK BY CAPTAIN SEBASTIAN DEL CANO IN THE *VICTORIA*

A boat's crew was seized at the Cape Verde Islands by the Portuguese, but eventually released. Marked †.

‡ At the Badajos conference.

CONCEPCION

‡ Juan Sebastian del Cano. Originally Master of the *Concepcion*, then Captain of the *Victoria*.

‡ Juan de Acurio. Mate of the *Concepcion*, aged 25 in 1519, a Basque.

‡ Hernando de Bustamante. Barber of the *Concepcion*, of Merida, aged 26 in 1519.

Martin de Judicibus. An expert of the *Concepcion*, a Genoese.

‡ Francisco Rodriguez. Seaman of the *Concepcion*, aged 22 in 1519.

‡ † Gomez Hernandez. Seaman of the *Concepcion*, detained at Cape Verdes, aged 22 in 1519.

† Roldan de Argote (*of Bruges*). Gunner of the *Concepcion*, detained at Cape Verdes.

A mountain in Magellan's Strait, 2780 feet high, was named after him the *Campana de Roldan*. It is in 53° 58′ 30″ S. and 71° 46′ W.

Martin de Isaurraga. A boy in the *Concepcion*, native of Bermeo, age 15 in 1519.

† Pedro de Churdurza. A page in the *Concepcion*, native of Bermeo, detained at Cape Verdes.

VICTORIA

† Martin Mendez. Clerk of the *Victoria*, detained at Cape Verdes.

‡ Miguel Sanchez de Rodas. Mate of the *Victoria*, aged 26 in 1519.

‡ Diego Gallego. Seaman of the *Victoria*, aged 22 in 1519.

‡ Nicolas of Naples. Seaman of the *Victoria*, aged 36 in 1519.

Miguel Sanchez. Seaman of the *Victoria*.

‡ † Felipe de Rodas. Seaman of the *Victoria*, aged 44 in 1519, detained at Cape Verdes.

‡ Juan de Arratia. A boy of the *Victoria*, aged 16 in 1519

‡ † Pedro de Tolosa. A boy of the *Victoria*, aged 20 in 1519, detained at Cape Verdes.

‡ Juan de Zubileta. A page in the *Victoria*, aged 14, from Baracaldo.

† A son of Vasco Gallego. A page in the *Victoria*, detained at the Cape Verdes.

‡ † Juan Martin. Servant in the *Victoria*, aged 26 in 1519.

† Simon de Burgos. Servant in the *Victoria*, both detained at Cape Verdes.

TRINIDAD

Francisco Albo. Mate of the *Trinidad*, kept a log.

‡ Anton Hernandez Colmenero. Seaman of the *Trinidad*, aged 46 in 1519.

Anton Rodriguez. Seaman of the *Trinidad*.

‡ Juan Rodriguez. Seaman of the *Trinidad*, of Huelva, aged 23 in 1519.

Juan de Santandres. Boy of the *Trinidad*.

Vasco Gomez de Gallego. Portuguese boy. *Trinidad*.

Antonio Pigafetta. Supernumerary, *Trinidad*, of Vicenza. Knight of St John of Jerusalem. Author.

SAN ANTONIO

† Juan Ortiz de Gofegar. Purser of the *San Antonio* (Afega of Herrera) originally, detained at Cape Verdes.

SANTIAGO

‡ † Richard or Ripart. Carpenter of the *Santiago*, aged 25 in 1519, detained at Cape Verdes.

Pedro of Bordeaux. Seaman of the *Santiago*.

† Alfonso Domingo. Seaman of the *Santiago*, detained at Cape Verdes.

† Maestre Pedro. Supernumerary in the *Santiago*, of Indarchi. Shipped at Teneriffe. Detained at Cape Verdes.

‡ † Socacio Alonso. Detained at Cape Verdes, aged 30 in 1519.

CAME BACK WITH ESPINOSA, 1527

Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa. Alguazil of the *Trinidad*, afterwards Captain.

Gines de Mafra. Seaman of the *Trinidad*.

Leon Pancaldo. Seaman of the *Trinidad*.

Juan Rodriguez (*el sordo*). Seaman of the *Concepcion*.

Hans Vargue or Arce. Constable Gunner (*Concepcion*). Died in a Lisbon prison.

DIED ON BOARD THE *VICTORIA* DURING THE VOYAGE

Lorenzo de Iruna of Guipuzcoa. Seaman of the *Concepcion*.

Juan de Ortega. Seaman of the *Concepcion*.

Diego Garcia. A page originally in the *San Antonio*.

Pedro de Valpuesta. A servant originally in the *San Antonio*.

Martin de Magellanes. Man at arms in the *Concepcion*.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGE TO MALUCOS OR SPICE ISLANDS

BY THE

FLEET UNDER THE ORDERS OF

THE COMENDADOR GARCIA JOFRE DE LOAYSA

WRITTEN BY

THE CAPTAIN ANDRES DE URDANETA

1525—1535

EXPEDITION TO MALUCO, 1525—1536

THE SHIPS (450 PERSONS).

Santa Maria de la Victoria (300 tons) (*sunk at Tidore*)
Captain General, the Comendador **Garcia Jofre de Loaysa**
Master **Juan de Huelva**
Mate **Diego de Loriaga**

Santi Spiritus (200 tons) (*wrecked in the Strait of Magellan*)
Second in command and Chief Pilot **Juan Sebastian del Cano**

Anunciada (170 tons) (*lost*)
Captain **Pedro de Vera**

San Gabriel (130 tons) (*deserted and lost*)
Captain **Rodrigo de Acuña**

Santa Maria del Parrel (80 tons), (*wrecked on Sanguin Island*)
Captain **Jorge Manrique de Najera** with his brother **Diego**
Pilot **Benavides**

San Lesmes (80 tons) (*lost*)
Captain **Francisco de Hoyas** or Hozes

Pataje (*reached Mexico*)
Captain **Santiago de Guevara** brother-in-law of *del Cano*

SUCCESSION OF COMMANDERS OF THE EXPEDITION

The Comendador Garcia Jofre de Loaysa died 30 July *1526*

Juan Sebastian del Cano died 4 August *1526*

Toribio Alonso de Salazar died at the Ladrone Isles *1527*
formerly accountant on board the *Lesmes*

Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano died at Tidore *1528*

Fernando de la Torre brought 8 survivors back to Spain *1536*

INSTRUCTIONS

TO THE

COMENDADOR LOAYSA

(*From Herrera Dec.* III. *Lib.* VII. *caps.* 5 *and* 6)

I. On no pretext was the General to discover or touch at land within the limits of the king of Portugal.

II. The ships were not to be heavily laden in order that their sailing qualities may be better.

III. Before sailing all hands were to confess and take the sacrament, it being understood that no one was to be received on board who had not done so.

IV. The other captains were to look out every night for the *capitana* which ship carried the lantern. When the General wished to know whether the other ships were in sight, he was to make a flash to which the other ships were to reply with one. When the *capitana* wanted to go on another tack, he was to make two flashes, the other ships answering with two, then to tack, the other ships tacking also. When the *capitana* wanted the fleet to shorten sail he was to make three flashes, the other ships answering and obeying the order. To strike the sails the signal was to be four flashes. If it has been necessary to shorten and strike sails, by day or night, the other ships are not to hoist again until the *capitana* shows three flashes, and they have been answered. Then all the ships were to hoist and make sail together. Navigating each day, once in the forenoon and once in the afternoon, each ship was to come within hail of the *capitana* to receive any orders he might wish to give. The other ships are to carry less sail than the *capitana* at night, and to keep astern of her, but not very far astern so as to part company with her, for all are to keep as near each as possible, the *capitana* being always watchful to maintain the necessary order of sailing.

V. The captains, pilots and masters are not to take any direction or to steer any course other than that ordered by the *capitana*.

VI. The Captain General is not to adopt a route, or to take a new direction without first calling a Council consisting of all the captains, pilots and masters of the fleet.

VII. If the ships approach land at night, the first that sees it shall fire two shots to leeward, and if the others do not repeat, she shall fire more.

VIII. If any disaster happens to one of the ships, such as catching fire, springing a bad leak, and sinking, her signal to the others shall be many flashes. On the signal being answered, the other ships shall close, and give such help as will remedy the evil. This being done, the voyage is to be continued.

IX. Never, by day or night, is any vessel to shorten sail unless she sees that the *capitana* has done so, or made a signal to do so. Excepting when any one of the ships is so crank under sail as to make it dangerous, and unable to bear the amount of sail, when she may reduce it, at the same time making a signal. In that case great care is to be taken to wait for such a ship, and she is always to be kept ahead of the *capitana* so as to lose neither time nor course.

X. If, before reaching the Canaries, some accident should make it necessary to return to land with the whole fleet, the port is to be chosen which is most convenient, or if any one ship cannot be taken there, then the nearest port should be sought, and information at once is to be furnished respecting the needs that require remedies.

XI. No one shall go on shore at the Canaries without leave from the General, for obtaining provisions or supplies for the fleet.

XII. The pilots, masters and mates shall not let go anchors without first sounding, and ascertaining that the bottom is clean and safe.

XIII. These instructions are to be observed in the navigation to the Malucos, shaping the courses that are necessary without turning away to other islands or lands, and only touching at those which are directly on the course.

XIV. If unable to double the Cape of Good Hope or, having doubled it, the bad weather prevents a continuance of the voyage, so as to make it advisable to find a port for winter, a Council shall be summoned to select the safest harbour.

XV. If during the voyage to the Malucos, new islands are discovered within the line of His Majesty, they shall be placed on the marine chart in writing, in their latitudes and longitudes. If the new land is inhabited, speech should be had with the natives, and a sign left to show that it was discovered by order of His Majesty. If gold, or spices, or other valuable products are found, some time may be allowed to trade, without abandoning the principal object of the voyage. If any religious will remain voluntarily, it may be arranged for them to land, with orders to ascertain the quality of the country and to return to the fleet if they do not wish to stay. In landing, a hostage should always be secured, that those on shore may receive no injury, taking care to do none to the natives.

XVI. Of the presents that are supplied, some are to be given to the lords of the lands at which the ships touch, in token of amity, and that they may be well received. Even if cause is seen for punishing the natives it should not be done at places which are likely to be useful for refitting the fleet.

XVII. If a ship should part company from the fleet, she is to make the best of her way to the Malucos to wait there for a month. If the fleet does not arrive, a signal is to be placed on the ground consisting of five stones arranged as a cross, a wooden cross is to be set up, and a writing is to be left in a jar, stating the date of arrival and other particulars. She is then to sail along the coast, exploring with caution and without losing time, always leaving the same signs. If, from any cause, several ships part company, they are to proceed to the Malucos, and if other lands are met with, the same signals are to be left.

XVIII. On reaching the Malucos the landing should be towards the north, to avoid meeting the Portuguese whose station is on the south side. But if it should be found that the Portuguese have arrived, the landing should not be abandoned on that account.

XIX. At whatever land the fleet arrives, the lord of it is to be informed that the fleet has come by order of His Majesty to establish peace and friendship, and to exchange merchandize.

Well-known hostages should be secured to make sure that the ships will be safe and well supplied. Peace being established, the arms of His Majesty should be set up according to custom; and His Majesty will undertake to keep and maintain all that his captains have undertaken.

XX. Peace being established the king of the country shall be induced to grant a store house for the reception of merchandize, for if no such provision is made, loss may be incurred.

XXI. As, when the first fleet of His Majesty went to the Malucos, the principal chiefs gave him obedience, it is believed that they will now be of the same mind. His Majesty's letters are to be delivered to them, with some presents, and they are to be treated with love and friendship.

XXII. On arrival it is to be ascertained whether Portuguese have come to those islands, since the visit of the fleet of Hernando de Magellanes, and if so, whether they have ill-treated the Spaniards who remained there[1]. If this is so, and it appears that the Portuguese can be subdued, this should be done without risking the fleet. If the Portuguese are so strong that they cannot be conquered, the fleet is to proceed to other islands, taking care to seek for the Spaniards who were left behind.

XXIII. The merchandize is to be disposed of, and the holds cleaned, that the spices may be brought in good condition. Those who have licence shall have their cargoes stowed, giving them certificates, so that here each one may receive what belongs to him.

XXIV. As evils are likely to arise from the crew being allowed on shore, no one should land to buy provisions except those who are under the Agent's orders. If, during the stay in a port, there is necessity to refit or careen the ships, only one should be careened at a time, and then another.

XXV. Steps should be taken to find those who were left behind by the other fleet, in charge of the spices agreed upon, and thanks should be given to the king for their good treatment. The first island where a contract was made, was Terrenate which

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[1] When Sebastian del Cano left Tidore in the *Victoria*, to return to Spain, he left five men to take charge of the store house, and manage the trade. These men were seized by the Portuguese and put in irons. Finally they were put on board junks to be sent to Malacca, but were never heard of again.

is on the northern side, and it was well chosen, being the largest and yielding the best harvest of spices, as well as offering accommodation for the refitting of the ships. If this cannot be done, cargoes should be got from the five islands nearest to the north, which are best placed for making sail with a fair wind.

XXVI. On arrival rice and other provisions should be obtained for the men, so as not to expend the stores of biscuit and wine. For if it should be necessary to load the ships with provisions for the voyage home, space will be occupied which should be kept for the cargo of spices.

XXVII. Agreements should be made with the king and his heirs with reference to the price of each article, and these prices should be sworn to and fixed for always. The same should be done with regard to articles of commerce from here, especially linen, copper, iron, mercury, and vermillion, which are the articles most valued there.

XXVIII. If the ships cannot reach the island yielding mace, native vessels should be sent to the island of Banda to obtain the quantity of mace that is required. Vessels should also be sent to the island of Tipele where there is cinnamon and ginger with the same object. The largest amount of pepper that is possible should also be obtained. This is most important, as well as to have the articles ready for loading, after which the fleet should sail.

XXIX. A strong house is to be built for the people who are to remain, for their defence; and oaths should be taken by the king and chiefs to keep their agreements, and obedience; and to understand that those who remain with them are their neighbours and are there for their benefit.

XXX. All the houses in those islands are of straw, so that care must be taken to prevent fire, to which the Moors resort in their robberies.

XXXI. Every year agreements should be made with the merchants and cultivators of spices, so that the fleets may be loaded without delay. The house of spices should be sufficiently spacious to receive all the cargoes, and there should be a residence for the Agents, invoice books, and officials. As the money on board the fleet was of many kinds, and it was not known which would be most profitable, it should be arranged that at each place the money that is most valuable should be used.

XXXII. The house should have watch and ward kept, and there should be communications with some in the house of the king, that the Agent may be kept informed of what is passing. It is to be noted that the principal security in that country is from the ships, which should be guarded with much watchfulness.

XXXIII. As there are no ships for distant voyages in that country, and it is desirable to explore the lands adjacent to the Malucos, vessels of Timor and Borneo, which are the best, should be procured; and as some of the Moors themselves will be in the business, they will like to sail in them.

XXXIV. It is not known whether cloves and mace are cultivated in any other part than the Malucos. If so, it will be advisable to prevent them from being in the power of any other in Christendom, save His Majesty, and to take care that they are not taken to Malacca or any other part.

XXXV. The order to be taken as regards prize money is that the Captain General shall have a share of the value of 500 ducats of Castile on each capture, except Moors held for ransom or precious stones, worth 12,000 ducats. Otherwise 3 per cent. of everything that is taken. The spoil being taken, there shall be a twentieth for redemption of captives, one fifth for the share of His Majesty, and the share of the men. The rest shall be divided into three parts, two for His Majesty and for the armament; and the third for the company. Of this 20 parts are for the Captain General, 8 for the other captains of the fleet, 4 for the partitioners, 4 for the clerks, the same for masters and pilots, 2 for able seamen and 1 for ordinary seamen, half a share for pages, 1 for dispensers, carpenters, caulkers, coopers; the doctor, surgeon, and chaplain, three shares; the gunners $2\frac{1}{2}$, the constable 3, stewards and servants $1\frac{1}{2}$, the master at arms 3; all the men who can shoot the cross-bow half a share more, and those who can use the *espingada*[1] one share more. As His Majesty takes two thirds, after taking a fifth, he will give the weapons to the men, because otherwise he could not reasonably take more than half. Of the shares which belong to His Majesty the officers of the ship will take the portions already declared.

XXXVI. Under no circumstances shall any ship be sent, even native vessels, across the Portuguese line, and this shall be notified to the people.

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[1] A small piece of ordnance.

XXXVII. When ransoms are required, no one shall fix the price except the Royal Agent.

XXXVIII. The smallest vessels in the fleet shall remain in the Malucos, with two other row boats for which the wood, already fitted, will be on board. On arrival these are to be got out and put together, and manned by natives, either hired or pressed, in charge of the Alguazil. These shall bring the merchandize, and give information about the other islands, when another fleet arrives.

XXXIX. The General in person shall fill up any post that becomes vacant by appointing a servant of His Majesty, until His Majesty shall order otherwise.

XL. The men shall be treated well and with kindness, the sick and wounded shall be cured and visited by the General, who shall not allow the apothecaries and surgeons to take money for their services. The sick shall be confessed and shall make declarations before the ship's writers, stating of what place they are natives, and whether they are married or not. Inventories shall be made of the effects of the dead, and it shall be ascertained to whom the sums due to them should be paid.

XLI. Discipline is to be maintained, and the men are to be prevented from wrong doing with the women on shore, because the people of that country will raise a rebellion solely on account of the women.

XLII. Interpreters should be obtained for every land that is visited, and they are to be well treated.

XLIII. In the lands that are unknown, where a party is sent for water, the boats should be armed, and the ships well guarded.

XLIV. All those who sail in the fleet shall have full liberty to write home.

XLV. If any king or chief wishes to come to Castile or to send an ambassador, they will be very well received.

XLVI. In case of deaths in the fleet, slaves must be procured for the service of the ship.

XLVII. The General and his officers shall examine the provisions, and see that they are expended with moderation, and that they are in a wholesome condition.

XLVIII. The men shall not sell their arms on pain of forfeiture of goods; nor are they to play by reason of the evils that arise from gambling.

XLIX. The General has power to appoint Lieutenants in such places as may be convenient.

L. No blasphemer nor renegade shall be allowed in the fleet.

LI. The Comendador Loaysa shall remain as Governor of the land. He is to see that all under him live well, with love and friendship among themselves. He is to allow those who remained in the Malucos, from the fleet of Magellanes, to reside there if it is their wish. The people of the fleet are not to settle on lands already occupied by the Portuguese. Taking their cargoes the ships are to return, and if the Comendador Loaysa remains, he can, if he so desires, return with the second fleet.

LII. The letters written by the Emperor are to be given to all those kings and chiefs of the islands, and presents are to be sent to them, especially to those who are friendly and have placed themselves under obedience.

LIII. In the event of the death of the Captain General he is to be succeeded by Pedro de Vera, one of the captains of the fleet, who will remain in the Malucos; failing Pedro de Vera, Captain Don Rodrigo de Acuña, failing him Don Jorge Manrique, failing him Francisco de Hozes. If the Captain General should die or remain in the Indies, Captain Juan Sebastian del Cano is to succeed as General of the Fleet, failing him Pedro de Vera, failing him Don Rodrigo de Acuña, failing him Don Jorge Manrique, failing him Francisco de Hozes, and if all die who were to be Governors on shore, the General Treasurer is to succeed, failing him the Royal Agent, failing him the Accountant. In case of the loss of all the captains in the fleet, the Treasurer, Agent, and Accountant shall elect one from among themselves (having first taken oaths) as Captain General, to go with the fleet. If more than one is elected, the votes being equal, they shall cast lots among themselves in the way to which all agree, and he to whom the lot falls shall be Captain General of the fleet, in conformity with the above instructions.

OFFICERS OF THE LOAYSA EXPEDITION

TO REMAIN IN THE MALUCOS

Captain General to remain as Governor of the Malucos

The Comendador Garcia Jofre de Loaysa

Captain General of caravels

Martin de Valencia

Treasurers

Juan de Benavides
Alonso de Solis

Accountants

Bartolomé Simon Tarrago
Alonso de Tejada (*died at sea*)

Agent General

Diego de Covarrubias (*died in Magellan's Strait*)

Lapidary

Lope Vallejo

IN THE SHIP

Second in command and to succeed Loaysa as Admiral of the Fleet

Juan Sebastian del Cano

Accountants General

Toribio Alonso de Salazar
Nephew of Loaysa (*for a few days*)
Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano
Francisco de Soto
Hernando de Bustamante
Andres de Urdaneta

Treasurers

Gutierrez de Tunion
Luis de Luzon
Martin Garcia de Carquisano

Agents General (after the death of Covarrubias)

Diego de Solier
Diego de Salinas (*killed at Gilolo*)

Alguazil Mayor

Martin Iñiguez
Gonzalo de Campo

Chaplains

Fray Juan de Arreizaga of Zumarraga
Juan de Torres

Pilots

Rodrigo Bermejo
Martin de Uriarte
Martin Perez del Cano
Macias de Payo

Gunners

Roldan de Argote
Maestre Ans
Artus, a Fleming

Men at arms

Alonso de Rios
Fernando de la Torre
Bachiller Tarragona
Bartolomé Dominguez

Accountant of the ship

Iñigo Cortes de Perez (*died at sea*)

Witnesses to del Cano's Will

Antonio Bermejo (*died at sea*)
Martin Garcia de Carquisano
Andres de Gorostiaga
Hernando de Guevara
Juanes de Zabal
Andres de Aleche

Accountants in other ships

Diego de Estrella
Diego de Victoria
Diego Ortiz de Orue

G. Mackay, Delt.

... Bradley & Son, Lithographers & Printers ...

NARRATIVE

OF THE VOYAGE UNDERTAKEN TO THE MALUCOS OR SPICE ISLANDS BY THE FLEET COMMANDED BY THE COMENDADOR GARCIA JOFRE DE LOAYSA

WRITTEN BY THE CAPTAIN ANDRES DE URDANETA

THE narrative which Andres de Urdaneta submits to your Majesty of the fleet which your Majesty despatched to the Spice Islands under the Comendador Loaysa[1], in the year 1525, is as follows:

We sailed from the city of Coruña with seven ships, on the eve of the blessed Lord St James[2], and shaped a course for the Canary Islands. We anchored off the island of Gomera on the seventh or eighth day after leaving Coruña, where we were taking on board things necessary for the fleet until the 14th of August.

On the 14th of August, the eve of our Lady, we departed from the island of Gomera and after a month and a half, a little more or less[3], we met with a Portuguese ship on the equinoctial line. The Captain General sent Santiago de Guevara, Captain of the pinnace, to see what vessel she was. Guevara obeyed the order and the Portuguese

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[1] A native of Ciudad Real and Knight Comendador. His orders were to proceed to the Malucos, but not to trespass on Portuguese territory, the limit of which was not stated.

[2] 24 July 1525.

[3] Following the track of Magellan they kept near the African coast and were delayed by calms.

shortened sail. In returning with the pinnace, Don Rodrigo de Acuña, in the ship *San Gabriel*, ordered a shot to be fired. This seemed to the Captain of the pinnace to be wrong, and there were words between him and Don Rodrigo. The Portuguese ship came to our *capitana* and the Captain General did much honour to the Portuguese, sending letters by their vessel to Spain. So we parted with the Portuguese and continued our voyage, encountering foul winds and calms until nearly the middle of October. We had sighted one island called San Mateo[1], which is about 3 S. of the equinoctial line. At this island we took in water, and killed many birds, called boobies, with sticks. There was good fishing. The Captain General and other captains and officers partook of a large and excellent fish. The others, who ate the fish, had very bad attacks of diarrhœa so that we thought they would not recover, but after many days they were well again.

At this island the Captain General ordered an enquiry into what had passed between Don Rodrigo, Captain of the ship *San Gabriel*, and Santiago de Guevara, Captain of the pinnace. After the investigation Don Rodrigo was ordered to come on board the *capitana*, and Martin de Valencia was appointed Captain of the *San Gabriel*. We were at this island for about ten days.

The seven vessels sailed from St Matthew Island in company, crossed to the coast of Brazil, and sailed along it. At the end of many days, and after we had passed the river Plate, there was such a storm that the fleet was scattered. In a few days six had again joined company,

[1] St Matthew Island is mentioned as having been discovered by the Portuguese in Pechham's *Western Planting* published by Hakluyt. Its position is given in the *Index Geographicus* 21. 10 W. and 1. 50 S. It was still on the charts in Admiral Burney's time (1803) in 1. 24 S. In 1817 Sir James Yeo and Captain Jenkin Jones, R.N. searched for it and went over the position given to it. There was no land. It may have been the island of Anno Bona which is in 1. 25 S. but a very different longitude. St Matthew was removed from the charts in 1820.

but the *capitana* was not in sight, and we steered in one direction, then in another, but we were never able to get a sight of her. We went on our way to the strait, and at the end of four or five days Martin de Valencia, with the ship *San Gabriel*, was out of sight. The other five vessels were still together. On reaching the entrance to the river of Santa Cruz, the Captain Juan Sebastian del Cano spoke with the captains of the other ships, and told them that it would be well to enter the river and wait there for the Captain General and Martin de Valencia. Pedro de Vera[1], Francisco de Hozes[2], and Jorge Manrique[3], captains, and Diego de Covarrubias, general agent, answered that it would be advisable for all the captains and officers, as well those of His Majesty as those of the ships, to meet on board the ship of Juan Sebastian to decide what should be done. Accordingly they all met. They concluded that it would be late for passing through the strait, if they waited in Santa Cruz, and that it would be better for the pinnace only to enter the river, and deposit a letter under a cross, on a small island near the mouth. If the Captain General should come, he would learn from the letter that the ships had gone up the strait to the port of Sardinas, to refit and get in wood and water, and there to wait until his arrival. According to this agreement the pinnace entered the river of Santa Cruz, and the other four ships made for the strait.

On Sunday morning, thinking we were entering the strait, the ships found themselves at the entrance of a river 5 or 6 leagues from the strait, where we were all in danger of being lost. As we were being embayed, Juan Sebastian sent his skiff, with some men[4], to see if it was the

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[1] Captain of the *Anunciada*.

[2] Of *Lesmes*.

[3] Of the *Parrel*.

[4] Roldan, Bustamante, and the chaplain Arreizaga were in the skiff (*Herrera*). These men rejoined their ship by a march overland,

strait; and before these men could return, the tide rose and the ships went out to sea. As we found that the skiff delayed, we sailed along the coast, and recognised the Cape of 11,000 Virgins which is in the strait[1]. It was late before we anchored within that cape. Being there, such a violent storm arose that all the ships dragged their anchors until they were near the shore. The wind continued to increase in violence, and the ship of Juan Sebastian del Cano, where I was, drove broadside on to the beach. In reaching the land nine men lost their lives, and the rest were half drowned.

Next day there was such a furious gale that the ship was broken up, many casks of wine and bales of merchandize being lost, as well as all the bread.

When the wind went down, about the middle of January, Juan Sebastian went on board the ship of Pedro de Vera[2], to look after the ships which remained within the strait, I and others going with him. Before we could take shelter a furious contrary wind sprang up. It was on the following Thursday. We thought we should be wrecked; all three ships lost their boats, and the ship of Pedro de Vera got out to sea.

On the following Friday the weather was finer, the wind went down, and we again entered the strait, passing further up than on the first occasion, and found an anchorage with a length equal to a cannon shot's flight, and a width equal to two stone's throws. To the N.E. we saw the caravels anchored in a bay in that direction. It gave us

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abandoning the skiff. They must have been at the mouth of the Gallego river.

[1] Burney says that Cape *Buon Tiempo*, the north cape at the mouth of the Gallego river, might be taken for Cape Virgins, without any impeachment of the ability of del Cano. Seixas y Lovera (p. 60) says—"*Costa del Rio de Gallegos de mar en fuera pareae la de Caba de las Virgenes.*"

[2] The *Anunciada.*

great pleasure to see the caravels, as we had given them up for lost. On shore we saw people who were Patagonians. When we arrived where the caravels were at anchor, they sent the skiff of the ship of Pedro de Vera on shore, and they brought back a Patagonian. He was given food and wine, and presented with some small things which pleased him much, especially a looking-glass. When he saw his reflexion he was so astonished that the things he did were worth seeing. They also showed him gold and silver, but such things did not surprise him at all. He was a large man and ugly, wearing the skin of a zebra[1], and a plume of ostrich feathers on his head, a bow in his hand, and sandals on his feet. When he saw that it was nightfall, he made signs to be taken on shore.

Next day they sent me on shore with five companions to where Diego de Covarrubias, the general agent, was, with the crew of the lost ship. They were to collect all the merchandize, wine, munitions, artillery and rigging, to have it ready when the caravels should send for it and for the crew. When we landed, presently the Patagonians came to us and asked, by signs, for something to eat and drink. We gave them some of what we had in our knapsacks, and then went to see their settlement. It consisted of huts made of the skins of zebras[2] where they had their wives and children. When they want to go somewhere else, they take up their huts and put them on the backs of their women, while they march only with bows and arrows. About ten of them followed us for a day and a half, but when they saw that our knapsacks were getting empty, they turned back. We remained at the place where the ship was wrecked for four days, though we were nearly dying of thirst on the third day.

On the same day that I arrived at the place where the

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[1] Guanaco. [2] Guanacos.

people of the wrecked ship were, there entered round the Cape of 11,000 Virgins the *capitana*, the *San Gabriel* and the pinnace. God knows what pleasure we received from the sight of them, for we thought that all were lost, except the pinnace.

When the Captain General saw the wreck on the beach, he sent the pinnace to find out what it was. When he knew that the ship was lost, he did not wish to be detained, and proceeded up the strait, to where the other ships were. Having arrived there, he sent Juan Sebastian del Cano with the two caravels, the pinnace, and the boat of the *San Gabriel* to where we were, to pick up the crew and all that had been saved from the wreck.

Directly Juan Sebastian arrived with those vessels, we began to get things on board, but when we had nearly finished it began to blow so hard that the caravels had to put to sea, leaving the pinnace and the boat in a creek. We came out into the strait with the caravel of Don Jorge Manrique[1], and the other caravel of Francisco de Hozes[2] was driven out of the strait to the south as far as 55 S. They said, when they returned, that what they saw appeared to be the end of the land[3].

In this same gale the *capitana* was nearly lost, the Captain General and all the people landing, except the master and sailors. We, being anchored near the mouth of the strait, saw the ship of Pedro de Vera[4], but in spite of our signals he did not wish to come to us, sailing out of the strait and never seen by us again[5]. The *San Gabriel* also

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[1] The *Parrel.*

[2] The *Lesmes.*

[3] Eastern end of Staten Island, in 54. 50 S. Brouwer was the first to sail round the east end of Staten Island. Previously it was believed to be part of the imaginary Antarctic Continent.

[4] The *Anunciada.*

[5] Pedro de Vera tried, for many days, to rejoin at the Santa Cruz river, but the wind prevented him. He then resolved to try and reach the Malucos by the Cape of Good Hope. The *Anunciada* was never heard of again.

sailed out, with Don Rodrigo on board, for the Captain General had reinstated him in his command. As he saw our signals he came and anchored where we were, in a good little port.

Next day the *capitana* followed into the channel. Much heavy cargo had been thrown overboard, and most of the people landed, which lightened the ship and enabled her to float again. In this way the master and his sailors brought the ship out, and the Captain General embarked again with his people. The ship was anchored outside, and it was resolved to return to the river of Santa Cruz to repair and refit the *capitana*; for she had been much injured by bumping on shore, and she made much water. We, therefore, sailed past the Cape of 11,000 Virgins, leaving the *San Gabriel's* boat, the pinnace and another boat inside.

When 15 leagues from the Cape of 11,000 Virgins on our way to the river of Santa Cruz, the Captain ordered Don Rodrigo de Acuña to go back to where the pinnace was, and to recover his boat, for it was fine weather. He was to tell the captain of the pinnace that we were going to Santa Cruz, and to go for the boat with as much despatch as possible. Don Rodrigo answered the Captain General that if he returned in such weather he would be lost. The Captain General replied that it was necessary to return and recover the boat, because boats were much needed. Don Rodrigo then asked the Captain General why he was ordered to go where he did not want to go. However he went and took the boat, which was handed over to him by the captain of the pinnace. He then went where he chose, for we never saw him again[1].

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[1] Rodrigo de Acuña also tried for several days to rejoin in the Santa Cruz river. He then went north for water and provisions, and fell in with some French cruisers. He went to them in a boat for news, and found that there was war with France. They would not let him return to his ship, but the crew refused to surrender and eventually got back to Spain. Acuña reached Pernambuco in an open boat,

The pinnace came to the river of Santa Cruz after twenty days. We had very hard work in repairing the *capitana* as it was winter. We were working in the water, and we found three fathoms of her keel broken. We applied a remedy in the best way we could, first with boards, and then with sheets of lead. We had very convenient tides, rising five fathoms, so that we could repair the caravels and the pinnace, and we got in our wood and water. We also caught quantities of fish in this river with a net we had. Every day, when the tide began to ebb, many fish remained on land, and we took them.

There is an island in this river on which the seals came every day to bask in the sun. When we saw them, 36 men, divided into six parties, six men for each seal, went to the island. On the beach along which we went to the seals, we found so many ducks without wings[1] that we could not break through them. Yet we got at the seals which were on the land, with hooks, clubs and lances to kill them. But we never were able to kill more than one which was above all the others asleep, and we broke all the weapons we brought with us. We opened the seal that we had killed, and we found several large stones in the stomach, as big as a fist and very smooth. This seal had as much meat as a bullock in the fore quarters, and very little in the hind parts. The hunters ate the liver, and most of us who ate it suffered from the head to the feet.

We departed from this river of Santa Cruz as soon as the ships were repaired, making for the strait, and entering as far as some islands which were beyond the place where the *capitana* got on shore. Being at anchor off an island, a caldron of pitch caught fire and began to burn the ship, and in a little time we should have been burnt with it.

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where he was badly treated by the Portuguese, but at length he also returned to Spain.

[1] Penguins.

But with the help of God, and by our own diligence, we put out the fire. Beyond this island we got amongst a bed of seaweed, for we had mistaken the channel, but we soon recovered it again, the sea being quite smooth. From this point forward we found very good ports on the north side of the strait, and good anchorages. There are many very high mountains covered with snow. There are many trees, and among them there is one with a leaf like a laurel[1], and its bark has the same smell as cinnamon. There are also mussels in great quantity containing pearls[2]. In this strait the agent Diego de Covarrubias died.

We got out of the strait in the month of May 1526, the fleet now consisting of the *capitana Santa Maria de la Victoria*, the two caravels *Parrel*[3] and *Lesmes*[4] and the pinnace[5]. After a few days we encountered a great storm, in which we were all scattered, and never saw each other again. With the heavy seas that struck her, the ship became leaky in many places and we were distressed by the quantity of water which we could not keep down with two pumps constantly going. Each day we expected the end to come. On the other hand we had to reduce the rations by reason of the number of additional men who had come on board from the ship that was wrecked. Thus while on the one side we worked hard, on the other we were insufficiently fed. We passed through much misery, and some perished.

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[1] Probably Winter's Bark (*Drimys Winteri*).

[2] Aljofar.

[3] *Santi Spiritus* wrecked, *Anunciada* and *San Gabriel* deserted. The *Parrel* crossed the Pacific. Her fate is described by Urdaneta further on.

[4] The *Lesmes* was never heard of again. But the Spaniards of the Quiros expedition in 1606 saw an old cross on Chain Island, which may have been put up by the shipwrecked crew of the *Lesmes*.

[5] The pinnace *Pataca* eventually reached Mexico.

The chaplain Arreizaga appears to have been on board the *Pataca*. They reached the port of Tehuantepec, the captain Guevara and the priest proceeding thence to Mexico. (*Herrera.*)

On the 30th of July the Captain General died. On the production of a secret order of His Majesty, Juan Sebastian del Cano was sworn as Captain General. He appointed a nephew of the late Captain General Loaysa to be Accountant General, which post had become vacant, Martin Perez del Cano to be pilot, and Hernando de Bustamante to be Accountant of the ship, a post which had become vacant through the death of Iñigo Cortes de Perez.

On the 4th of August 1526 the Captain General Juan Sebastian del Cano died, and the nephew of the Comendador Loaysa, who had been appointed Accountant General, also died. We elected Toribio Alonso de Salazar to the command, by votes, and he appointed Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano to be Accountant General, and in his place, as chief Alguazil, Gonzalo de Campo was appointed. At the same time the Treasurer died, Gutierrez de Tunion being appointed in his place.

At this time we were sadly overworked and worn out, being in 14 or 15 N., seeking for Cipango. As the people were so worn out from much work at the pumps, the violence of the sea, the insufficiency of food, and illness, some died every day. We, therefore, agreed to make the best of our way to Maluco.

Being on this course, we discovered an island in 14 N., which we named San Bartholomé. It appeared to be large, but we could not reach it, and continued our route to Maluco.

In about twelve days from having sighted this island, we came in sight of the Ladrone Islands in 12 N. where we anchored the ship. Here we found a Galician named Gonzalo de Vigo[1], who had remained on these islands with

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[1] He left San Lucar as a *grumete* or first-class boy on board the *Concepcion*; transferred to the *Trinidad* when his old ship was burnt.

two companions, from the ship of Espinosa[1]. The other two died, but he remained alive. He came on board, and was of great use to us, as he knew the language of the islands. According to Gonzalo de Vigo the group consists of thirteen islands, extending from 12 to 19 N. There are no sheep, nor fowls, nor other animals fit for food; but rice in great quantities, fish, cocoa nuts, oil and salt. The natives of these islands go naked, not wearing anything. They are well made men wearing their hair and beards long. They have no iron tools, and work with stones. They have no other arms than slings, clubs hardened in fire, and a sort of knife made of shin bones of dead men, and fish bones. At these islands we took eleven natives to work at the pumps, because there were many sick on board. Having taken our water on board we sailed for Maluco, the Galician coming with us, of his own accord.

We were eleven or twelve days at the Ladrone Islands, and before the eighth day the Captain Salazar died. We elected the Captain Martin Iñiguez of Carquisano to succeed him, who was then Accountant General. There also died Juan de Huelva, Master of the ship, Iñigo de Loriaga succeeding him.

About fifteen days after we left the Ladrone Islands we sighted a large island called Bendenao[2], and anchored in a port called Bizaya[3]. Presently we went to the shore in a boat, to hold converse with the natives, for the Galician knew a little Malay and could talk with them. We

[1] Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa was in Magellan's voyage. He stabbed Luis de Mendoza, Captain of the *Victoria*, in suppressing the mutiny at Port San Julian. He eventually succeeded to the command of the expedition after Magellan's death, while Sebastian del Cano became Captain of the *Victoria* and completed the circumnavigation of the globe. Espinosa was to find his way back by way of Mexico. But he failed, and eventually surrendered to the Portuguese.

[2] Mindanao.

[3] The eastern coast of Mindanao was called Bizaya.

bargained for a pig and some fowls if they would trade, but they refused to sell any. The people of this island are well clothed. They go about dressed in clothes of cotton and silk, and also wear dresses of Chinese satin. They all go armed, their lances in their hands and their hangers, like daggers, in their belts. They also have *paveses*[1]. They are a treacherous people, and intended to seize the ship by treachery. But we were on our guard, and their plan did not succeed. They often came at night in their very light row boats to cut our cables, but we kept a good watch and they never were able to do any harm. We were in this port ten days, but never succeeded in buying any fresh provisions.

In this island of Bendenao there is much gold, and they brought it for sale. But the Captain ordered that no one was to buy, so that we bought nothing ; and thus we had to continue our voyage without refreshment. We here took a native and brought him to Maluco. He told us that two junks came from China every year, which are a kind of ship which the Chinese use. They come to buy gold and pearls, which they have in great quantity. More vessels come to the other islands to trade. In this same island there is cinnamon in the western part.

We departed from this port of Bizaya and anchored off another island called Talao, about 40 leagues from it, where we found the natives more friendly. They sold us many pigs, goats, fowls, fish, rice, and palm wine, besides other provisions, so that the people were very well refreshed. The ship was refitted, the guns properly mounted, and our arms furbished up, for we were near Maluco. The Indians of this island said that there were some islands to the eastward where there was much gold, and they wanted to take us there. But as the ship was large and drew much

[1] Large shields.

H. Mauly & Son, Lithographers & Printers, London.

water, we did not care to navigate amongst islands, and so we did not go there. When we arrived in this archipelago of Celebes, Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano made some appointments. Martin Garcia de Carquisano became General Treasurer, Diego de Solier Agent General, and Francisco de Soto Accountant General.

After a stay of fifteen days at Talao we sailed for Maluco. We were 105 people, 40 men having died during the voyage from the strait.

On the third day after leaving Talao we anchored on the east side of the island of Batachina[1], in a port called Zamafo[2]. The natives of this place are vassals of the king of Tidore. When they knew we were Spaniards they received us very well, including the Governor named Bubacar. In this place we found a fugitive slave of the Portuguese, who spoke Portuguese very well. He told us that there were Portuguese in the islands of Maluco, and that they had a fort on the island of Terrenate[3]. He said that it was not many days since they had defeated the king of Tidore who was always at war with them, by reason of the two ships which had been laden with cloves at his island, being those of Juan Sebastian del Cano and Espinosa. When he heard this, Martin Iñiguez asked the Governor of Zamafo to give him *praos* or vessels with oars, to send secretly to the kings of Tidore and Gilolo, who were said to be very good friends of the Spaniards. The Governor at once ordered the *praos* to be got ready.

The same afternoon the Captain sent me, with five companions, in a row vessel, to the kings of Tidore and Gilolo, to let them know that seven ships had been sent to Maluco, that we only had arrived in the port of Zamafo, and that the others were coming behind. We had found

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[1] Another name for Gilolo.

[2] On Morotay Island.

[3] Ternate.

that the Portuguese were in these islands, who made war on the king of Tidore for selling cloves to the captains Juan Sebastian del Cano and Espinosa. The captain sought that the kings would say what it was that they wished to order, for that he was there with all his people and ship and artillery to help them, as loyal friends of His Majesty, against any that were against them, and that he was ready to join with them against whosoever might make war, whether Portuguese or natives of the islands. Thus we went secretly to the town of the king of Gilolo and made it known to him that we were there. We sent to ask permission to go to his city where he was, which is in the same island of Batachina on the west side. As soon as he received the news he sent his nephew with ten armed row boats for us, and so we came to the place where the king was[1]. He received us very cordially, and showed much pleasure at our arrival, and consequently all the chiefs and people of the land felt the same. The king ordered all the people of the neighbourhood to assemble for the reception of our embassy, and in this way we were received on the following day. As we said that we wanted to go to the king of Tidore, he ordered a very light rowing boat to be got ready, and sent two of his chiefs with us. So we went to the island of Tidore, which is about six leagues from the city of Gilolo. We found the king of Tidore retired in the mountains. When he knew that Castilians had come to Maluco, though the king was a boy[2], the chiefs showed so much joy that it was a thing worth seeing, and all the people followed their example. Having received our embassy, they offered to help us in every way in their power, even to die for us. They asked us that we should not fail to come with the ship for that we had no

[1] His name was Abderahman-Jami, aged 80. (*Herrera.*)

[2] Rajamir, son of Almanzor recently deceased. (*Herrera.*)

reason to refrain from fear of the Portuguese. The king of Tidore sent two chiefs with us to wait on the Captain. So we returned to Gilolo, where the king offered to help us in every way that was possible, though he was then at peace with the Portuguese. He sent his nephew with three rowing vessels in my company, and so we returned to where the ship was. Three Spaniards of my company, with two large arquebuses, remained with the king of Gilolo, in case the Portuguese should come, on learning that we had been with the king.

Having arrived at Zamafo, where the ship was, Captain Martin Iñiguez received the ambassadors of the kings of Tidore and Gilolo very well, and presented them with some gifts. On learning the desire of the kings, we made sail for Tidore, but those of Gilolo wanted us to go to their town, because Tidore has been entirely destroyed and all its towns were burnt.

Being at anchor, by reason of a contrary wind, off an islet called Rao, a row boat arrived from the island of Terrenate, with a Portuguese named Francisco de Castro, bringing letters from the captain of the fort whose name was Don Garcia Enriguez. He demanded that we should not enter the islands of Maluco, except where he had his fort, for those lands belonged to the king of Portugal. If we complied, we should receive all honour and courtesy ; if not he would send the ship to the bottom, with all on board.

The Captain Martin Iñiguez replied to the letter and the demand, not conceding what was required, but stating that those lands and islands belonged to His Catholic Majesty, and that he would go to any island he thought fit. With this answer the Portuguese returned, and we worked for two months, unable to double the cape of the island of Batachina. The row boats of Gilolo went back. During this interval a Portuguese named Hernando de Baldaya

came twice with the same demand. He was factor of the fortress held by the Portuguese. He required that we should either come at once to their fort, or else that we should depart from those parts and not touch at any of the Maluco islands. If we refused, a great fleet would come and either take us by force, or send us to the bottom. Our answers were always contrary to what they wanted, and so that Portuguese went back, after threatening us many times.

At the same island of Rao we heard that the Portuguese were coming against us with a great fleet. The Captain seeing this, took the opinion of the crew, which was that under no circumstances should we desist from going to the islands of Maluco in spite of any risk we might run. When the Captain saw the goodwill and resolution of the people, he made sail with a fair wind for the island of Tidore, and we began to navigate with a good fresh wind, all our artillery ready and the men well armed, and willing to die in the service of His Majesty.

On the 29th of December 1526, on our way to Tidore with a strong wind, the Portuguese fleet came out from between two islands, called the isles of Doy, where they were waiting for us. We were determined, the wind was fresh, and we were well armed, so they did not dare to come within range, and we passed on our course. The fleet which the Portuguese brought against us consisted of two caravels, a lateen rigged vessel, large boats, and other gun vessels, with about 80 row boats belonging to the Moors of Terrenate, Bachan, Traquian and Motil. The kings of Terrenate and Bachan came in person. They also summoned the king of Gilolo, but he did not want to come, saying that he was a friend of the Spaniards and would not go against them. The Captain General of this Portuguese fleet was named Manuel Falcon.

We anchored off the island of Tidore, in front of where

the city used to be, on the 1st of January 1527, and presently the king, named Rajamir, arrived with all his chiefs. They swore, according to their law, to be our loyal friends, to favour, and to do all in their power against our enemies; and we swore to the same effect. On the same day we began to construct three earthworks to plant artillery for a defence against our enemies, and all the natives helped us, even the women. Next day we got some of the artillery on shore, and, as a consequence, all the merchandize and things of value on board, in case the Portuguese should come, and send our ship to the bottom. We also landed half our people.

After we had been four or five days at Tidore, the Portuguese Hernando de Baldaya came with a demand from his captain that we should depart from the island where we were, and if not the Portuguese would come with a great fleet, taking and killing us all. Our Captain replied, as on former occasions, refusing to concede to their demand.

On the 12th of January of the said year, before daylight, the Portuguese arrived with a great fleet intending a surprise. But as we kept a good watch, we heard the noise of their oars and fired, for they came with the intention of boarding us. But when they saw we were prepared, they did not dare to board, and began to fire at us from outside. With their second shot they killed one, and wounded three or four of our men. Thus we began to blaze away one at the other until the following Saturday, both sides wounding several, and with that they returned to their fort. Although many of their shots struck our ship they did not injure her seriously, and we passed a band round her that she might not go to the bottom. Nevertheless the ship received serious shocks by reason of the number of shots we fired from her, which had the effect of opening her seams worse than before, and she leaked badly. We worked hard

without being able to keep the water under. We wished to ground her, but could not find a suitable place in the port, though there was one in another part of the island. But we did not dare to take her there from fear of the Portuguese. At last we burnt her, and so, after three months a little more or less[1], the said ship went to the bottom.

At the end of three or four days after the Portuguese attacked us, there arrived five of the king's vessels from Gilolo, and, being still in the same port, the news came that a Portuguese bark was coming from the island of Maguian to their fort, laden with cloves. As soon as he knew of this the Captain sent five native vessels, with nine Spaniards, to attack the said bark. They fought her and captured her with the cargo of cloves. One Portuguese was killed. With the five rowing vessels the king of Gilolo sent to ask the Captain for twenty men and some artillery to defend himself against the Portuguese, a request with which the Captain complied.

With the same rowing vessels officers went to Gilolo to build a ship with all the necessary furniture, as well nails as other requisites such as timber for the planks, the same king of Gilolo ordering all to be provided at his cost.

At the same time we began to build a ship at Tidore to send by the Cape of Good Hope. The natives were also building war vessels, and they already had some with which we were able to annoy the enemy.

As the king of Gilolo had the Spaniards with him, he carried on warlike operations against the enemy, and he did us all the honour in his power and showed us favour. If it had not been for his help we should have been in a much more difficult position.

In the month of May two Portuguese ships arrived, bringing one Don Jorge de Meneses as captain of their

[1] Since they arrived at Tidore.

fortress[1]. Soon after he arrived he began to make the same demands as the former captain. We replied in the same way, saying that the islands of Maluco, Banda, and other lands, which were all round us, were within the line of demarcation of your Majesty. As this was the case we demanded that the Portuguese should evacuate those islands and leave the land free. Nevertheless this demand of ours profited nothing, for they said that the islands were within the demarcation of the king of Portugal. As the said Don Jorge de Meneses saw that we were so well established in the country, he proposed to the kings of Gilolo and Tidore that they should kill us by treachery, promising them great rewards. But they never wished to do such a thing, and they told us what the Portuguese had proposed to them. When they saw that neither could they attain their object in this way, Don Jorge de Meneses determined to kill us by poison, ordering it to be put into a fountain from which we drank. This plot was divulged by a Portuguese priest, who wrote to our chaplain to tell him that the next time his countrymen came to Tidore they intended to put poison into the well from which we drank. So we were on our guard for that time, closing the well, and thus being in no danger whatever.

At this time Captain Martin Iñiguez sent me to Gilolo to take command of the Spaniards who were there, and to push forward the building of the vessel. While I was there some Portuguese came to Tidore, pretending to want to make peace with us, and they gave some poison to Captain Iñiguez in a cup of wine, of which he presently died. The Captain Hernando de la Torre, who was Lieutenant in the time of Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano, was chosen to succeed

[1] On his voyage from Malacca he steered a course north of Borneo, instead of south as was usual. Carried to the eastward by a current, he discovered New Guinea, and wintered on the north coast. The black people, with woolly hair, were called *Papuas*. Meneses reached Ternate in May 1527.

him by votes. Before the Captain died he appointed Diego de Solinas to be Agent General, taking the place of Diego de Solier. While we were at Rao it was reported that Francisco de Soto was plotting against Captain Martin Iñiguez, for which he was deprived of the office of Accountant General, Hernando de Bustamante being appointed in his place, and I became Accountant of the ship.

At the time when Martin Iñiguez de Carquisano died, there came to us the chiefs of certain towns in the island of Maguian, which is one of the Clove Islands, whose name was Quichil Umar. He said that the Portuguese destroyed all his towns and killed many Indians. They also killed one Spaniard, and took another prisoner, out of the six who were with Quichil Umar, sent to him by the Captain Hernando de la Torre. Quichil Umar came as a fugitive to the island where we were.

In the month of July a Portuguese deserter arrived, who was a spy. At the end of several days that he was with us, he put certain grenades of gun powder into the ship we were building, one night. At the noise of the explosion, the people were aroused, and put out the fire, which might have done much harm. The planks of the ship's sides were blown out, and she could not be kept above water. Thus all our labour was lost and in vain. We were new to the country, and did not know the kinds of wood to use.

At about the same time some boats of Tidore were coming laden with provisions, having five or six Spaniards on board. They fought with some of the boats of the enemy who captured two of our boats, and killed two Spaniards.

In the month of December we brought the finished vessel of 17 banks of oars to Tidore, where Alonso de Rios became her Captain, and I was appointed Treasurer.

In March we were with the king of Gilolo, twenty of us, acting against a position of the enemy which was in

Batachina. Being there we saw a ship sailing over the sea, and presently we sent two Spaniards in a boat of the king of Gilolo to learn what ship she was. She turned out to have been sent by Hernan Cortes from New Spain, by order of His Majesty, to obtain news of us. Don Alvaro de Sayavedra came as Captain. When they recognized us, we went on board, and the boat returned with the news, at which we rejoiced. We sent the news to our Captain at Tidore, that he might send some help, if it should be necessary.

Next morning, the ship being becalmed, a boat of the Portuguese came alongside, and finding that the ship was Spanish, the Portuguese in the boat tried to deceive the Captain. But Sayavedra had correct intelligence from the two Spaniards who were on board. However he asked the Portuguese to tell him in which island of Maluco the Spaniards were settled. They replied that there were no Spaniards in Maluco, though it was true that a large ship had come in a condition so that she could scarcely keep above water, that the Portuguese had helped them to build a ship, which they had done, and that the Portuguese had supplied them with provisions and many other things that they wanted. They added that if he would come to their fortress he would be received with all honour and courtesy. Sayavedra answered that it was no use making such a statement, because he knew that there were Spaniards in Maluco. There was some further talk, but when the Portuguese saw that they could not deceive him with words, they opened fire on his ship which he returned. The wind then freshened and the Spanish ship went on, anchoring at Gilolo.

That night a vessel of the Portuguese and some Moorish row boats arrived, and began to fire at the ship towards dawn. The Spaniards defended themselves as well as they could. While this attack was proceeding, our vessel with some Tidore boats arrived, which were sent by Fernando

de la Torre when he heard of the arrival of the Spanish ship. As soon as the Portuguese saw this reinforcement they departed and returned to their fortress.

When our fleet came to where the ship was at anchor, she got under weigh and came to Tidore. From that time the war proceeded with much greater heat. On Monday, the 4th of May, 1528, a Portuguese galley, with fourteen row boats of the Moors, attacked us. We embarked 37 men on board our vessel under Alonso de Rios, her captain, and went along the land whence they came, thinking the enemy only consisted of row boats, but then we descried the Portuguese galley which had recently been built. We consulted among ourselves and put it to the vote, resolving that, being so near to each other, it would be a great mistake to turn in flight, and that it would appear to the natives like cowardice. So we commended ourselves to God, and to the Lord St James, and advanced to grapple with them, for they had great superiority in long shots, by reason of the quantity of artillery carried by the Portuguese galley. We were fighting hard for full three hours, and at last we captured the galley, but it was very hard work. They killed four of our men, and most of us were wounded. We killed eight of their men and the rest were badly wounded. Thus we brought the galley to the city of Tidore, with all her people, where the prisoners were well secured.

Having been provided with all that was required, in June 1528 the ship of Sayavedra left Tidore on her return voyage to New Spain. She took Macias de Payo as her pilot and she also embarked some Portuguese who had deserted to us, one a gentleman named Simon de Brito, the other Bernardin Cordero. Some of the prisoners were also sent on board, including the captain of the galley, that they might inform His Majesty respecting what had happened. Being on the voyage, the ship was anchored near some islands inhabited by negroes called Papuas to

the east of Maluco, about 200 leagues. Simon de Brito and Fernan Romero, the captain of the galley, with the other Portuguese, seized the boat and went back in her to Maluco, leaving the ship without a boat. For a long time they were lost, owing to the currents which prevented them from reaching Maluco, and drove them to some other islands. There they left the boat, and some of the Portuguese remained there. But Simon de Brito and the captain of the galley got a canoe to take them to Maluco. They came to Batachina, on the east side, 40 leagues from where we were.

One day the news came that there were in Batachina, at a place called Guayamelia, certain Portuguese who had lost their way. The Captain ordered me to go, with two companions, to see how the story originated, and, if they were Portuguese, to make them prisoners. I went to Guayamelia, and found that they were Simon de Brito and Fernan Romero, Portuguese who had fled from the caravel of Sayavedra. I arrested them and brought them, well guarded, to Tidore, where I found Sayavedra, who had returned owing to the contrary winds, and also because he had no boat. He wanted to wait for better weather, also to fill up with wood and water. So he came back, over 700 leagues, six months after he had left Tidore. Those of the ship did not dare to go on without a boat.

On examination, without torture, Simon de Brito and Fernan Romero confessed how they had escaped and, as it appeared to me, with the object of doing a service to the king of Portugal, thinking it would be a great service if they prevented the ship from returning to New Spain, because it would prevent His Majesty from knowing what was going on at Maluco, and how the Portuguese had taken possession of the lands of His Majesty. Having taken their depositions our Captain, in consideration of the evil things they did, sentenced Simon de Brito to be beheaded and quartered, and Fernan Romero to be hanged,

which sentences were pronounced by Fernando de la Torre, and executed on the same day.

When the ship returned, the work of building another boat for her was proceeded with. As the ship herself was leaky and worm eaten, we made a sheathing of planks for her sides, with a kind of bitumen which they are accustomed to use here for ships. Supplied with all necessaries, as well provisions as all other things, we were ready to despatch her. Fernando de la Torre, our Captain, and all who remained in his company, were of opinion that she ought to go back by the Cape of Good Hope, as she would meet with contrary winds in returning to New Spain, but Sayavedra was resolved to return the way he came, and so he departed in May 1529.

In this campaign we had great wars with the Portuguese, and conquered all the island of Maguian by force of arms. We restored all his lands to Quichil Umar, and captured four vessels of the enemy, with all their crews and artillery, and we burnt and robbed many towns.

The said Don Jorge de Meneses, Captain of the Portuguese, sought what plans he could arrange to do us harm. One day, our chaplain was at the fortress of the Portuguese to confess, after having sought security. The said Don Jorge sent a Portuguese, a principal man, who landed and went to the fortress. Then the Captain Don Jorge de Meneses ordered our chaplain and a youth who came with him to be seized and secured in a prison under the tower, where he kept them more than seven months. At the end of that time we gave four Portuguese in exchange for the chaplain and his companion, from among the prisoners we held, giving Don Jorge de Meneses his choice, because we had no other clergyman, and those who died went without confession.

On the 20th of October 1529 we went with a fleet of the Moors of Gilolo and Tidore, and thirty men, to destroy

some towns of the enemy, about 50 leagues from Maluco, to the eastward of Batachina. On the fourth day, after leaving Tidore, we encountered seven row boats off the island of Terrenate with many Portuguese on board. We fought them and captured one boat with all the crew, but the others fled and escaped.

As we departed from Tidore, the Portuguese were informed that we had set out with the largest force we could muster, including the greater part of the Moors of the island. According to public report, he who gave the information was Fernando de Bustamante, the Accountant General.

On the day of St Simon and St Jude, when the Portuguese knew that the greater part of the Spaniards and Moors were away from the island of Tidore, that not more than forty men remained there with Fernando de la Torre, and that the said Fernando de Bustamante was on their side, for he had already corresponded with them, they came with a great fleet against the city of Tidore, landed and entered by force of arms. At the entrance they killed one Spaniard and captured two others badly wounded. They killed many natives, wounded more Spaniards, and sacked the town.

Our Captain, Fernando de la Torre, seeing that he was unable to resist the Portuguese, retreated to the principal earth work we had constructed, and from thence he ordered fire to be opened on the enemy. Then Fernando de Bustamante, the Accountant General, said to Fernando de la Torre that it was no use to fight any more against the Portuguese, that they should all be united, and consequently the Constable of the gunners said that no shot was to be fired, because he had now spoken with the said Bustamante. Seeing this, Fernando de la Torre and other Spaniards began to fire off the guns themselves and fight the Portuguese, for although there was another Flemish

artillery man in the fort, he would not fire a shot, but went out with the *mecheros* in his hand. Other Spaniards also said that they ought to join with the Portuguese and not fight any more. In spite of this the Captain and those who remained loyal did not desist from fighting. At this juncture the Portuguese sent a man to the Spaniards with a white flag, as is the custom, and called upon them to surrender. The Captain Fernando de la Torre and other Spaniards declared that they would not surrender, but rather defend themselves ; for they had artillery, munitions, and powder, and they did not doubt that all the people of the island would join them, and give them victory, with the help of God. With this reply the Portuguese returned. Meanwhile Fernando de Bustamante went about, stirring up a mutiny, saying that they were now at the end of the year 1529, and had been five years away from Spain, and that no fleet of His Majesty had come, or was likely to come, so that it would be better to go over to the Portuguese. Don Jorge de Meneses, Captain of the Portuguese, as he had already corresponded with Fernando de Bustamante, sent a Portuguese once more to our fort, to require us to surrender. When the Captain Fernando de la Torre saw that Bustamante was trying to induce the men to mutiny, he agreed to make a proposal to the Portuguese. He offered to restore the island of Maguian, the galley we had captured, all the guns we had taken, and to liberate the prisoners. But the Portuguese would only consent to a surrender and submission to them. The Spaniards would not agree, and Fernando de la Torre, with those who wished to follow him, determined to go on board a small brigantine and sail away to Zamafo, where we were first with the ship, remaining there until we received orders from home. In the event of receiving no orders, we bound ourselves to settle among ourselves what we should do. Fernando de la Torre was not to take more in the brigantine than one

bronze gun, his arms and property. This agreement was made with the Portuguese, and we surrendered the earth work to them, with all the artillery and public property. The Portuguese seized everything, including the private property of those who were away with the fleet, and many other things. Fernando de la Torre went away to Zamafo in the brigantine, with twenty men who stood by him. Bubacar, the Governor of Zamafo, received him very well.

Fernando de Bustamante, the Accountant General, went over to the Portuguese with all the other Spaniards, taking with him the account books, inventories, wills of the men who had died both on the voyage and after the arrival at Maluco, with all other writings of living and dead. Some of the Spaniards who went over with Bustamante to the Portuguese, were Maestre Ans, Constable of the gunners, Artus the Flemish artillery man, Francisco de Godoy a supernumerary, our chaplain named Juan de Torres, and others whose names I forget.

After the Portuguese had got possession of everything they burnt a very good vessel we had, with a public proclamation, as a rebel and insurgent in the lands of the King of Portugal.

On the 3rd of November I returned with the Governor of Tidore, who was a brother of the king, named Quichil Rade, with six Spaniards and three boats, leaving the rest of the fleet at Moro, on the east side of Batachina. On the way we received news that the Portuguese had taken and burnt the city of Tidore, and that the Spaniards were shut up and besieged in the fort. When we arrived at the island of Tidore we went to a very strong place called Tomolou, to learn what had happened. We were then informed that the Portuguese had taken the town and fort. So I asked the Governor, Quichil Rade, to give me an armed boat that I might go to Gilolo where there were twelve Spaniards. It was not my wish to join the Portuguese. For we had

been sent in arms to Maluco by your Majesty. As Gilolo is very strong we could very well defend ourselves there, against the Portuguese. Quichil Rade had a very good will to serve your Majesty. He gave me a well-armed boat in which I went with two companions, taking with me two small bronze guns. I agreed with Quichil Rade that, in four days, I would come with the Gilolo fleet to the island of Tidore at night, for him to embark for Gilolo, and be in our company, bringing his wife and children. This Quichil Rade was always our firm friend and a good servant of your Majesty. So I went to the city of Gilolo, and was well received by the king, the chiefs, and the Spaniards who were there. The king of Gilolo offered that, until we were armed by your Majesty, he would give all that we required, as well food as clothes, for all Spaniards were in your Majesty's service, and he undertook to give us all possible help, as he did.

On the fourth day we left Gilolo and went with a fleet to Tidore for Quichil Rade, who came with his wife and children, and the other principal chiefs, with their wives and children, abandoning their estates and property.

After ten or twelve days we had news that the fleet of Tidore, which I had left at Moro had returned, and that the rest of the Spaniards had gone over to the Portuguese, except Alonso de Rios who had taken refuge on a mountain in Batachina, with three companions, armed with two small pieces and their muskets. I at once started, with a swift and well-armed boat, to where the four Spaniards were. I found them and brought them safely to the city of Gilolo. Altogether we were now nineteen companions.

At the end of four or five days we armed four boats to go to where our Captain Fernando de la Torre was, at Zamafo. I and Alonso de Rios went with the idea of bringing Fernando de la Torre and his companions to Gilolo, where we could build forts, and wait for the fleet

which your Majesty might send to Maluco, better than anywhere else. Having arrived at Zamafo, we consulted with Fernando de la Torre. We represented to him that it would be for the service of His Majesty to be in a position to help any Spanish vessel that might arrive, in defiance of the Portuguese. This could not be done at Zamafo, but easily at Gilolo. The answer of Fernando de la Torre was to excuse himself, saying that, by the capitulation, he was bound to keep the peace with the Portuguese, and not to enter the Maluco islands unless a fleet should arrive. When we saw that it was not his will to comply, we asked some of his companions to return with us to Gilolo, for we had certain news that the Portuguese and all those of Maluco were preparing to go and destroy Gilolo. Five Spaniards came back with us to Gilolo.

Two days after we had returned to Gilolo, the Portuguese came against us, with a fleet. We defended the landing so that they could not disembark, and they retreated without doing us any harm.

In the month of December 1529 the caravel of Sayavedra came back, not having been able to return to New Spain. She anchored in the port of Zamafo. This time Sayavedra himself had died at sea, as well as three or four of the crew.

Finding that the said caravel had not returned to New Spain, and the advice we had given now appearing good to him, Fernando de la Torre resolved to go to Gilolo where we were. Accordingly he came with the caravel and brigantine, so that altogether we numbered 60 men, and the king of Gilolo supplied us all with food. We began to renew our war with the Portuguese, continuing it until 1530, though many Spaniards went over to the enemy, and others died of diseases contracted by the hard work and the unhealthy lives they had to lead. Neither had we any resources, except what was given to us by the king of

Gilolo, although the Captain helped us so far as he was able.

At this time the Portuguese inflicted certain injuries on the natives of Terrenate and they were ready to rebel, although for a time they dissimulated, advising that there should be peace between the Spaniards and Portuguese, and consequently with them. Then all the people of Maluco conspired both against the Portuguese and against us, and to kill us all. It pleased our Lord God that, as I had much friendship and conversation with many principal natives, and knew the language of the country very well, I should come to know of the conspiracy against us, and presently I informed our Captain.

In the month of May 1530 we began to entertain the idea of establishing peace with all, as well Christians as natives of the islands. I went to the Portuguese fortress with certain chiefs of Gilolo, and made peace with the Portuguese and the king of Terrenate, advising the Portuguese Captain of the conspiracy to arm the natives. He did not believe me, and conversed secretly with the chiefs of Gilolo, promising them great rewards if they would kill all the Spaniards in the land. At the end of eight days he sent to Quichil Catarabumy, who was Governor of Gilolo, and had been at peace with us, promising great rewards if he would kill us all. This Catarabumy was, at that time, on bad terms with us because he had a scheme to seize the kingdom for himself, while we supported the king who was a child, and who had been commended to our protection by the late king when he died. Catarabumy did not dare to act although there were many on his side. But he agreed to what the Captain of the Portuguese had proposed, and promised that he would do it. This became known to a very near relation of the king named Quichil Tidore, who at once informed us, so that we went about armed and kept a very good watch at night. The natives did us many

injuries, though not all, only those who were of the party of Quichil Catarabumy. The consequence was that we suffered much misery and anxiety, all for the service of your Majesty, for if we had chosen to go over to the Portuguese we should have been very well off. But we believed that your Majesty would not fail to send a fleet to Maluco, and that we, being there, could be of use to the fleet and of service to your Majesty. We never thought of joining the Portuguese, but resolved to wait in spite of all risks and hardships, holding it to be our duty to be ready to sacrifice our lives in the service of your Majesty.

In August 1530 Don Jorge de Meneses came to know that the natives of Terrenate, in concert with all those of Maluco, had agreed to rise against the Portuguese and us. When he became convinced of this, he one day sent for the King, Governor, and other principal men of Terrenate to come to the fortress, concealing his real object. Presently they came. As soon as he had them within the fortress, he ordered them to be made prisoners, and tortured some of them. They confessed that they had given orders for the natives to rise in arms against the Portuguese. The Captain, therefore, ordered Quichil de Reves, the Governor of Terrenate, to be beheaded. He was the most feared man that there was in those parts. Meneses then killed four or five other principal chiefs, and kept the king a prisoner in the fortress.

When the death of Quichil de Reves, the deaths of the other chiefs, and imprisonment of the king, became known to the people they rose in arms against the Portuguese, who could not venture an arquebuse shot outside the fort.

When the news of the deaths of the chiefs of Terrenate arrived at Gilolo, the natives took to their arms, and we did the same. As some of the relations of the king were friendly to us, they assured us that if the Governor chose to attack us, they would be on our side, so that in reliance on their help we had no fear.

On the same night I went secretly to the fortress of the Portuguese, in a small canoe with only five rowers. My object was to put aside what was past, and to offer to the Portuguese, on the part of our Captain and ourselves, all the assistance in our power, if they needed our help. In truth we offered more than they could if they had made a similar offer, because the will we had to assist them was not owing to necessity. So the Captain and all the Portuguese gave me thanks and offered the same help. It was agreed between us that, if the necessity should arise, we would help each other and remain very good friends, forgetting what was past. In the same hour I returned to the city of Gilolo, running great risks, for the natives of the land attempted to seize me.

When I returned to Gilolo, I found a serious state of affairs. The Captain, with about forty men who had remained with him, was armed and entrenched in some large buildings, with his artillery placed and ready.

Seeing this I went straight to the house of the king, where I found the Governor with a large body of armed men. I made a speech in their language before all, saying that the Governor knew very well that, from the time that we arrived at Maluco in the ship, the people of Gilolo and ourselves had always been friends even unto death. We had received great favours from the king of Gilolo, and he had always had from us all the service we could possibly give him. Besides this, our Lord being pleased that it should be, when the fleet of your Majesty arrived, the king of Gilolo would be made Chief King of all Maluco in reward for the favour he had shown us. Until then we had always been friends, and had been as one. Let us then continue the same friendship for the time to come, without intervening in the quarrel between the Portuguese and the people of Terrenate. This speech had such an effect that before evening we had sworn eternal friendship.

In the month of October 1530 a Portuguese Captain

arrived with troops, as Governor of the fortress of Maluco. His name was Gonzalo Pereyra. We renewed with him the peace we had arranged with the Captain Don Jorge de Meneses. When Gonzalo Pereyra arrived, he examined the acts[1] of Don Jorge de Meneses, and arrested him for the execution of Quichil de Reves. Thus under arrest, he was sent, by way of India, to Portugal. When the natives saw that Gonzalo Pereyra had arrived with more troops they made peace, though it did not last long. At the end of six months that Captain Pereyra was in Maluco, the Indians of Terrenate were poniarded within the fortress, many Portuguese were killed, their town was burnt, and the fortress itself was nearly taken. All the Maluco islands rose against the Portuguese except the people of Gilolo, who took neither one side nor the other, for love of us, although the natives of Terrenate offered great rewards both to us and to the Gilolo people, if we would help them. But we excused ourselves with good reasons, for we reflected that we were few Spaniards and that if the natives captured the fort of the Portuguese, at the same hour they would fall upon us, being so few in number.

At the end of a month, Gonzalo Pereyra being dead, the Portuguese sent a well-armed galley to Gilolo, where we were, asking us to give them provisions in exchange for their money, as they were in great need. Seeing their necessity, we used such persuasion with the Governor and chiefs of the land that they supplied plenty of provisions for money, indeed as much as the galley could carry. Seeing this the natives of Terrenate presently raised the siege of the fortress.

Further, we negotiated between the Portuguese and the people of Terrenate to make peace, with success, on which

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[1] Tomo residencia.

account both the Portuguese and natives became our very good friends.

In the year 1531 I gave the narrative by Fernando de la Torre of all that had happened for His Majesty's information to one Anibal Cernichi in Maluco, who swore on a consecrated altar to deliver it, unless he died on the road.

In 1532, by reason of the great friendship that had arisen between us and the Portuguese, we asked Don Vicente de Fonseca, the Captain of the Portuguese that, as we desired to send an ambassador to the Portuguese Governor of India, he would order a vessel to be provided. Vicente de Fonseca replied that he was much pleased at the determination we had come to.

We sent Pedro de Montemayor to the Governor of Portuguese India, informing him that we had been a long time in Maluco, and had never received any orders from His Majesty. We had heard that His Majesty had ceded Maluco to the King of Portugal for 300,000 ducats[1]. We, therefore, had resolved to return to Spain, leaving the land to the Portuguese, but we had no vessel. We, therefore, requested him to send us a vessel in which to return to Spain, and to apply 1000 ducats, on His Majesty's account, for our expenses.

Pedro de Montemayor set out for India in February 1532. When he departed we numbered 27 or 28 men, all the rest having died of diseases owing to the great hardships we had gone through, as well in the spirit as in our persons.

At this time we suffered great hardship as we were without shoes, and we had no money, for the king of Gilolo was tired of providing for us for so long a time. If

[1] In 1529 Charles V pledged to the crown of Portugal his title and claims to the Malucos for 350,000 ducats, leaving the survivors of the fleet of the Comendador Loaysa to their fate.

it had not been for the wild pigs we killed, our troubles would have been much greater.

In October 1533 Pedro de Montemayor returned from Portuguese India to Maluco, accompanied by a Captain of the King of Portugal named Tristan de Taide who came as Captain General and Governor of Maluco. The Governor of India sent us a ship with a captain named Jordan de Fretes, a native of the island of Madeira. The Governor also sent us the 1000 ducats we asked for, although Tristan de Taide was unwilling to pay it until we had come over to him. The Governor also sent a decree for which we had asked, that no Captain of the King of Portugal was to detain us in any of the forts we might pass, nor to have jurisdiction over us.

When the people of Gilolo realized that we were going to pass over to the Portuguese, they felt great sorrow and besought us not to do so. To ensure this they declared war on the Portuguese, although we did not wish it. But the Portuguese thought that we were causing the trouble, and sent many threats that they would come against us with a great fleet, and not leave one of us alive. On the other side the natives wanted to kill us, because we would not help them against the Portuguese. So that we were in danger from both. When we saw our predicament, we gave the natives to understand that we wanted to side with them, although we did not want to do so.

The Portuguese came against the city of Gilolo and the Captain of them had himself rowed along the coast in a canoe, to find a good place for landing. On seeing him a Spaniard got into the water with his musket, and fired a shot from behind a mangrove, at very short range. In firing he said in a loud voice, so that the Portuguese Captain should understand, that we did not desire war with him. The Portuguese Captain, therefore, gave an order through the fleet that no Portuguese nor native allies

were to do any harm to a Spaniard. On the following day the Portuguese and their native allies landed and took the city of Gilolo. For when the people of Gilolo saw that we would not fight, they fled. At the entrance they killed the factor Diego de Salinas with a small gun. We went with the Portuguese to the fortress, without receiving any ill treatment from them. At this time we had not more than 17 men, all the rest being dead.

Having joined the Portuguese the Captain gave our Captain the 1000 ducats, which he divided amongst us, after having taken what was just for himself. Then we all embarked for India with Jordan de Fretes. We departed on the 15th of February 1534, but I remained in Maluco, with authority from Fernando de la Torre, to recover certain *bahares* of cloves which the natives owed to His Majesty and also to Fernando de la Torre and other persons of his company. I was using diligence to recover some of this, when it came to the ears of Tristan de Taide, Captain of the Portuguese. He sent for me and ordered me not to seek for anything from any native, for if it came to his knowledge he would punish me severely. He also sent orders to some kings of Maluco and other chief persons among the natives who owed cloves to His Majesty, that they were to pay nothing. I, therefore, did not dare to seek anything from any native. Also, before Fernando de la Torre left Maluco, Tristan de Taide gave orders to all the Spaniards that all who had taken part in the past wars with the Portuguese might return, and that those who had been with us might not return.

In the year 1528, when Sayavedra came from New Spain, three Spaniards of our company were on one of the islands of Celebes called Sarragan. Of these three men two were Galicians and the third a Portuguese. They had been in the caravel *Santa Maria del Parrel*, and were rescued by Sayavedra. For the Indians had sold them as

slaves, and he brought them with him to Maluco. These three men told us that the first island which the caravel reached, whence they came to the archipelago of Celebes, was Mindanao, in the port of Bizaya. When they sent their boat on shore for provisions, the natives seized it and killed all the crew. When the people in the caravel saw this they made sail for Maluco, but when passing an island called Sanguin, a sudden squall drove her on shore, and she was lost. The natives came down to the wreck, killing or making prisoners of all who were on board. They sold their prisoners as slaves, and the men said that there were seven or eight more in the other islands of Celebes. When Fernando de la Torre heard that there were other Christians kept as prisoners in those islands of Celebes, he ordered five or six boats to be sent to redeem any Christians who might be found in those islands. At the time when the boats were starting, one of the Galicians told another Galician who belonged to our ship that it was true that the Indians of Bizaya had taken the boat of the caravel with all on board. Afterwards there was a mutiny in the caravel, and the mutineers had thrown the Captain Don Jorge Manrique, his brother Don Diego, and one Benavides, alive into the sea, and then killed them with lances. These two Galicians had been among the mutineers, and they, therefore, wanted to join the Portuguese, where they would not be known.

When the boats went to those islands of Celebes the two Galicians and the Portuguese went in them with some Spaniards, because they knew the language. After they had been gone two or three days, that other Galician belonging to our crew told what the other had divulged to him. When Fernando de la Torre heard it, he sent off a swift boat with orders to bring back the three men. The swift boat overhauled the others at Zamafo. When one of the Galicians saw her coming he got on shore, and ran

away to join the Portuguese. The other two were taken and brought to Tidore, though the Portuguese was not culpable. The Galician was subjected to the torture of the cord, and when he confessed he was hung and quartered. Nothing more was done to rescue the other Christians, who remained where they were.

I and the pilot Macias de Payo, who had remained with me, were in Maluco until February 1535. The Captain of the Portuguese wanted to detain us, because he wished to send a caravel to Celebes, and us to go in her. For he had received tidings from some natives of Celebes that there was much gold in one of the islands of the Celebes archipelago, as well as much sandal wood, and they brought some to show the Captain of the Portuguese. The sandal wood is an important article of merchandize in Portuguese India, for if it is large and thick it is worth 40 ducats the *bahar* in Malacca. At the time when Fernando de la Torre left Maluco I remained behind, on condition that in the next year, 1535, I should leave for Portuguese India in company with a merchant named Lisuarte Cairo in his junk, and that Tristan de Taide, Captain of the fortress, should not detain me nor my companion the pilot, against our wills; but that he should let us go, and give leave for us to depart to Malacca with Lisuarte Cairo.

On the 15th of February 1535 we left the Maluco islands in company with Lisuarte Cairo, arriving at Banda on the 5th of March. Here we found two Portuguese ships laden with mace and nutmegs.

These islands of Banda are seven in number. They yield mace and nutmegs, found no where else in the world. Here they are gathered in great quantities. The Banda islands are 80 leagues from Maluco in 4 S. latitude. The natives are ready to trade and are great friends of the Spaniards and of the king of Tidore. In the days of our prosperity in Maluco we always traded with them, and at

the time when the Portuguese took our fort, there were six or seven junks of Banda which had come to trade with us, and also to molest and rob the Portuguese. While we were in Banda, Quichil Catarabumy came with a fleet to the islands, and Quichil Tidore talked to us with tears in his eyes. He said that if God should give us the good fortune to return home, His Majesty should be informed what good servants to His Majesty the kings of Gilolo and Tidore had been in helping the people of His Majesty whom the Portuguese had destroyed. They prayed that your Majesty would remember your vassals and send a fleet to deliver them from captivity, for the Portuguese treated them very badly in all the islands, besides those whose inhabitants had shown themselves to be servants of your Majesty. Quichil Tidore is a very important chief of Gilolo, and a first cousin of the king, the best friend we found in Gilolo, a man very wise and sagacious. Quichil Catarabumy also conversed with me, with tears in his eyes, although at one time he was our enemy. He said he was anxious to talk to me, but that he had not dared to do so, for fear of the Portuguese, that I knew their intentions well, and that he only asked me, when I reached Spain, to give an account of them to His Majesty.

When I was about to depart from Terrenate, a chief of the king of Tidore came to me, named Baianu. He said that his king had sent him to me, to say how much he wished to write to your Majesty, but that he did not dare because the Portuguese would not like it. He, therefore, entreated me to receive what he wished to say secretly. He prayed His Majesty to remember his vassal who had served His Majesty and helped his people. The Portuguese had desolated his country, and killed the greater part of the inhabitants. Every day they ill treated the survivors, and all this because the king of Tidore had received and helped the ships and people of your Majesty ; as well Juan

Sebastian del Cano and Espinosa as ourselves. This being the case and His Majesty being so powerful, he entreated him, as a powerful Prince, that he would send out a great fleet to deliver them from their troubles by driving out the Portuguese. If the fleet of His Majesty came, it would find no opposition in any of the islands of Maluco, because all desired to be His Majesty's, and to serve him. The king of Terrenate and his people, on seeing the fleet of His Majesty, would at once rise against the Portuguese, as well as all the people of Maluco and Banda.

We were at the islands of Banda until the month of June, waiting for fine weather; and leaving them in that month, we arrived at the port of Panaruca in Java, where we remained for a few days, taking in provisions. The distance from the isles of Banda to the port of Panaruca is 250 leagues. It is in 7 S. more or less. The island of Java is to the south and is very large, yielding many kinds of provisions as well rice as buffaloes, cows, pigs, goats and fowls, and the natives make a very good beverage of rice. They also have much palm wine. There is much sport in hunting deer. There are also horses. In this island of Java there is much gold which is taken to Malacca for sale; and the Portuguese come here from Maluco to trade. There are always Portuguese in this city of Panaruca, because the king is a great friend of theirs.

The people of this island are very warlike and treacherous. They have many bronze guns which they cast themselves, as well as muskets. They have lances like ours, very well made though the iron heads are different, and many other weapons such as bows, azagays, and *zebretanas*. All usually carry daggers in their belts. They use carts a good deal, which are drawn by buffaloes. They have many junks which they navigate to all parts, as well as ships worked by oars, which they call *calaluces*,

which go very fast. We also saw that they built many *fustas* like ours, having obtained the plans for them from the Portuguese. The Indians of this kingdom are gentiles.

In Java there are powerful kings, as well heathens as Moors, the greatest of all being the king of Dema who is a Moor, and is continually at war with the Portuguese. This king had the lordship of the pepper of Sunda. The pepper of Sunda goes to China and is better than the pepper of Portuguese India because it is larger. It is much valued in China.

We sailed from the port of Panaruca for Malacca and arrived there in the end of July 1535. The distance is 200 leagues more or less. In this city of Malacca the Portuguese have a fort with a garrison of 500 men. It is a place of great trade, for many junks come here from all parts, as well from Maluco as Timor, Banda with much sandal wood, all Java, Sumatra, India, Ceylon, Paliacati with much cotton cloth of Bengal, where they make the finest in these parts. Vessels also come from Pegu with provisions, gems, and musk, and from many rivers and lands which are near Malacca, bringing gold and tin. From Sumatra they bring more gold than from any other part whatever, and it is very fine gold. While we were at Malacca there was a day when the merchants received seven *quintals* of gold from Sumatra. Much gold and camphor also come to Malacca from Siam, Patani and Burney.

There is also a great trade with China, as well porcelains as silks of all kinds, musks, and other precious things. China, according to what the Portuguese say who have been there, produces the best things there are in these parts.

We were at Malacca until the middle of November, and sailed for Cochin on the 15th of the month in a Portuguese

junk called the *Alvaro Oreto,* passing Ceylon where the cinnamon grows that comes to Portugal. We arrived at Cochin in the middle of December, where we found Fernando de la Torre, our Captain, with a few companions. After we arrived, an order came from the Governor, who was at Diu, that Fernando de la Torre and his companions were to be given passages in a ship bound for Portugal. The Captain told me that, when he arrived in India, the Governor received him and his companions well. At the time when the order from the Governor came, the Captain of Cochin told Fernando de la Torre to get ready to depart, but that no more than four or five of his companions could go in the same ship with him. The rest must go in another ship. We were very sorry for this, because we should be safer if we were together. With few of us they might put us into a ship going the other way when at sea, or poison us. I and my friend the pilot embarked in a ship called the *San Roque.* We paid 50 ducats to be allowed space for our provisions which we had bought, but without having a key to lock them up. Since we left Gilolo we had always bought our own food, except rice and a little fish. They gave us some *serapis* at Cochin, a gold coin worth 300 maravedis.

Three other companions embarked with us, but two of them died before we reached the Cape of Good Hope.

Four companions remained at Cochin to embark with Fernando de la Torre, who made the fifth. Their ship was called the *Gallega*; and the captain was a relation of the Count of Castañeda. As it might happen that Fernando de la Torre would die during the voyage, or some other disaster prevent his return, it seemed advisable that he should prepare some account for your Majesty, and send it by me. Fernando de la Torre, therefore, wrote a brief account, entrusting further details to me, that I might write a fuller narrative. He also wrote a letter for your

Majesty, in which he mentioned the many loyal services I had done for your Majesty in those parts[1].

On the 12th of January 1536 we sailed from Cochin, which is the port where the spices are shipped for Portugal. There were five ships laden with spices, and two more were being loaded and were to start in eight days. In one of these Fernando de la Torre was to embark. We commenced our voyage, and before we reached San Lorenzo, our Captain, Jordan de Fretes, parted company with the other ships because our ship was the best sailer. We passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 30th of March, and thence proceeded to the island of St Helena to take in water.

This island of St Helena is in 16 S. We were there eight days, where we got many green calabashes to eat, and many oranges and pomegranates, as well as fish, which refreshed the crew. There are also wild pigs and goats on this island. There is a Portuguese hermit there, but no other people whatever. It is a small island, not more than four leagues in circumference.

We left St Helena and proceeded on our voyage to Portugal, arriving at the city of Lisbon on the 26th of June 1536.

When I landed in the city of Lisbon the guard examined me very closely, first my person, and then my box, which contained the letter which Fernando de la Torre sent by me to your Majesty, in a letter case. The guard over the ships coming from India took these things, in spite of my remonstrances. They also took the account book of the ship in which we came to Maluco, another large book of mine, and letters written by Spaniards of our company who remained in Portuguese India. We also had

[1] Fernando de la Torre arrived in Spain soon after Urdaneta, and was well received.

charts drawn of the Maluco and Banda Islands on white paper, and sealed up like ordinary letters so as to deceive them. These they also took. They also seized the track charts to Maluco, and from New Spain to Maluco, out of the same box, with other memoirs and writings. The guard seized this property without authority of a writer but merely as their own act.

As the guard seized all these things on their own authority, I determined to go to Evora to complain to the King of Portugal. Arriving there I went direct to the Ambassador Sarmiento, to whom I gave an account of my arrival from Maluco, and how the guard had seized my papers when I landed. Seeing that they would not return my property, I had come to complain to the king. The Ambassador of your Majesty said that he did not care to trouble the King of Portugal about it, but that I should, with all possible despatch, go to your Majesty and give an account of all that had happened, that what would be of service to your Majesty might be done.

I, therefore, set out for the court of your Majesty to give an account of this affair and of everything else, leaving things I brought from Maluco in Lisbon.

While I was at Evora, the King of Portugal heard that we had landed at Lisbon and sent for us. As I was not to be found they brought my companion the pilot to Evora, where the court was. When he arrived he went at once to the inn of the Ambassador of your Majesty, telling him who he was and that he had come by the king's order. The Ambassador gave him a horse and told him to depart at once, and so he came to this court.

The islands of Maluco which produce cloves are Tidore, Ternate, Motil, Maguian, and Bachan. In none of the others, though there are many islands, do they gather cloves.

In Ternate, which is in about 1 N., in a good harvest,

they gather 3500 *quintals* of cloves. In this island the Portuguese have a fortress.

In Tidore, in about 0.40 N., 3500 *quintals*. In this island the Spaniards were settled.

In Motil, in about 0. 30 N., 1000 *quintals* when there is a good harvest.

In Maguian, which is in 0. 15 N., 3500 *quintals*.

In Bachan, which is partly on the equator, but mostly to the south of it, 600 *quintals*.

In all the five islands, when there is a good harvest, 11,600 *quintals* a little more or less ; at other times they do not gather more than 5000 or 6000 *quintals*.

At the time when we arrived in Maluco a *bahar* of cloves, which is over four *quintals*, was worth two ducats. When we departed cloves were worth 10 ducats the *bahar*. This rise was caused by the numerous Portuguese merchants who go there every year.

To the south of Maluco are the Banda Islands, about 80 leagues, in 4 S. In these islands they gather nutmegs and mace. In one year and another they gather 7500 *quintals* of nutmegs and a 1000 of mace.

To the east of the Banda Islands there are many islands whence they bring gold to Banda for sale, though not much. No Portuguese or Spaniards have been to these islands, the natives trading among themselves.

Between Maluco and Banda are the islands of Ambon, or by another name the natives call it Java. In these islands there are many provisions, and one is very large with trees of cloves, though few. They had brought the plant from Maluco. In these islands of Ambon they build many junks, and navigate in those parts.

East of Maluco is the island of Batachina, to which the sailors of Magellan's voyage gave the name of Gilolo. It is in 3 N. On this island is the kingdom of Gilolo on the western side. It has a circumference of 150 leagues, for I have been round it, by sea. In this island there are many

provisions, such as pigs, goats, fowls, fish, rice, palm wine and cocoa nuts, supplying those of Maluco. This island, on the west side, runs north and south, and is near Maluco. The kings of Maluco subjugated this island of Batachina, and others near it.

To the east of this island of Batachina there are many other islands which they call the Papuas. The inhabitants are all black with woolly hair like those of Guinea, and all use arrows. From these islands they bring gold to Bachan, little but fine. The islands of the Papuas are numerous, according to the natives.

To the N.E. of Maluco there is an archipelago of islands close together, 200 leagues distant, discovered by a Portuguese vessel. They are between 3 and 9 north latitude.

Talao is to the north of Maluco in 5 N. Off this island we anchored on our way to Maluco, and the natives told us that to the eastward there were two islands, called Galliba and Lalibu, where there was much gold.

To the north-east of Maluco in 6 N. is Bendenao (Mindanao). In this island there is cinnamon, and much gold. They also fish for pearls and bring up quantities as we were told. Every year two junks come from China to this island to trade.

To the north of Mindanao is Zebu. According to the natives it contains gold, and the Chinese come there every year to trade.

Tristan de Taide, Captain of the fortress of Maluco, received information in 1534 that to the N.E. of Mindanao there was an island very rich in gold, and he fitted out a ship to discover it.

To the S.E. of Mindanao is Sanguin within sight of it. Here the caravel *Santa Maria del Parrel* was wrecked after the crew had murdered the captain. The natives attacked the crew, killing some and capturing others.

To the west of Maluco there is an archipelago of islands

called Celebes, and the natives come every year to Maluco to sell gold, though not in great quantity.

To the S.W. of Maluco there is a large island called Tubuay, where there is much iron, with which they provide all the other islands of those parts, also taking it to Java, Timor and Borneo. I went to that island with some people of Gilolo. All the iron they sell is worked.

Very near this island to the westward are the islands of Mazacares where there is much gold. In these islands a Portuguese vessel was wrecked, and because some of the islanders went to fight those of another island, they gave the Portuguese a certain quantity of gold, each one more than 300 ducats. They also gave them ten *cates* of gold which are 20 lbs., and the Portuguese did not want to sell their share at any price, and so they went their way.

Near the island of Tubuay, to the eastward, there is a small island called Bangay with a king. The people of this island are very warlike, and hold lordship over other islands, carrying on much trade. I was in that island, and at the time when I arrived the queen had died. During the forty days that I was there they killed more than 150 men and women, saying that it was necessary they should accompany the queen to the other world. They do the same when a king dies. This king of Bangay is very rich and has a large treasure of gold.

To the south of Maluco, about 60 leagues from Tidore, there is a large island called Buru, with other smaller islands round it. There is nothing in this island but provisions, and the natives of it are few and well conducted.

There are many other islands round Maluco, although we had no intercourse with them. They remain to be discovered and subjugated.

Your Majesty should know that although they say that the King of Portugal derives no profit from Maluco,

asserting that a small amount of cloves is received from those parts, it is not correct; for the trade in cloves, mace, and nutmegs in India, besides what come to these parts, is a source of great wealth to the King of Portugal and other persons in Portugal. Though to Portugal they only bring 500 *quintals* of cloves and 100 of mace, and 200 of nutmegs each year, the Portuguese also bring to Ormuz, which is at the entrance of the Persian Sea, and sell every year more than 6000 *quintals* of cloves, and there are years when they sell more than 10,000. They also sell there over 6000 *quintals* of nutmegs and 800 *quintals* of mace. For merchants come to buy, at the island of Ormuz, all this spice. The buyers are Moorish merchants who pass it on, over Persia, Arabia, and all Asia as far as Turkey.

Your Majesty should know that there might be brought from Maluco, if your Majesty were pleased to order commerce to be maintained with Maluco, in every year 6000 *quintals* of cloves, and there are years when there is a harvest of more than 11,000 *quintals*, the trees yielding in some years much more than in others. In the same way there might be obtained from Banda, one year with another, 800 *quintals* of mace, and in some years more, and 6000 *quintals* of nutmegs, in some years much more. Your Majesty should also know that there is much ginger in Maluco, which might also be brought and prepared as the Portuguese now bring it. The cinnamon of Mindanao can also be obtained in Maluco by trading, and brought to Spain, though I do not know what the quantity would be. A treaty might be made at Maluco with the king of Dema in Java, for a supply of pepper. For this king of Dema has pepper in great quantity and is an enemy of the Portuguese. He has information about the Spaniards, and of the wars we carried on with the Portuguese in Maluco. He will rejoice to be a friend of the Spaniards, and to make a treaty with them. Such a treaty might include the

people of Banda and Ambon, who have many junks and would bring the pepper to Maluco.

If your Majesty were pleased to order a treaty to be made with Maluco, for bringing all the clove, mace, and nutmeg harvest to Spain, it would be necessary to buy the spices and drugs in whatever parts your Majesty ordered treaties to be made. For your Majesty should know that in no other part of the discovered universe are there spices, but only in these islands. So that your Majesty would derive much profit from these islands of Maluco and Banda, for only from the spices there would be a yield of more than 600,000 ducats, not counting the ginger and cinnamon. A treaty for the trade in pepper with Java would also ensure a large profit.

Your Majesty will also see, from this report, that there are many rich and valuable conquests to be made round Maluco, and many lands with much trade, including China, which might be communicated with from Maluco.

Dated in Valladolid on the 26th of February 1537.

ANDRES DE URDANETA.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION

OF

THE STRAITS OF MAGELLAN

BY

THE PILOT MARTIN DE URIARTE

(*in the expedition of the Comendador Loaysa*)

WEDNESDAY, January 24th, 1526. The directions for knowing the entrance to the strait are that, when you arrive at the point of the Virgins you have to steer to the west, and four leagues before you arrive at the mouth of the strait you will see on the starboard side a white sand hill which rises on the slope of the mountain to the summit, and after passing this sand hill the land becomes higher. Until you pass this sand hill the course is W.S.W. Three leagues further on there are three great mountains of sand which look like islands, but are not. They are on the port side. Here you will see the mouth of the strait, and on the starboard side—N.N.W. and S.S.E. with these sand mountains—you will see a lofty round mountain, and to the south of it two smaller mountains like islands, but are not. Of these three mountains of sand the centre one is the highest, and is all of clean white sand, and the other two have a growth of bushes on their summits. Being here you will see the mouth of the strait and in entering take the mid-channel, as there are shoals on either side.

From inside the Cape of Virgins to the entrance of the strait you can anchor on any part of the coast on the starboard side in 18 to 20 and 25 fathoms clean bottom, and on

all the south coast, and it is better to keep on the south, rather than on the north side.

You must know that in the channel of the strait you will find bottom at 40 to 45 fathoms. In coming out of the strait keep in mid-channel where you will always find this depth, greater rather than less, near a mile from the land on the starboard side, because on that side many shoals run out with very little water on them, and for that reason you should give the coast a wide berth. If you wish to anchor keep along the coast for three leagues, when you will find a bay called the Bay of La Victoria[1]. When you are in it, the bay is so landlocked that you will not see where you entered it. But it has little depth, only four fathoms at low water. The rise and fall is only one fathom, the bottom rocky, and wretched holding ground.

On Thursday the 25th of January we entered the strait and, before we had passed through it, we were taken aback and were forced to anchor, which we did in five fathoms, and we were there until low water. We then weighed and proceeded to the Bay of La Victoria already mentioned, where we found the *Anunciada* and the two caravels. On Friday Juan Sebastian departed with the two caravels and the pinnace to recover the wreckage that had been saved from the *Santi Spiritus.*

On Tuesday, the 6th day of the following month of February of the said year, being the day of St Dorothy, the ship *Victoria*, being a league from the shore, with five anchors down and with five *azustes*[2], dragged her anchors and was driven towards the shore. She struck several times, and made much water. The wind W.S.W. On Wednesday the wind went down, and we got the ship off, and on Thursday we got her back to her former position.

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[1] Bay of Virgins or of Santiago on the north coast between the two narrows.

[2] A splice.

On the same day we got the rudder inboard, and found it to be much injured. On Friday morning we shipped the rudder again. On that day the *San Gabriel* made sail and went out of the bay, anchoring on the north coast, near the entrance of the strait. In the afternoon the *Anunciada* made sail, and went out of the strait. We never knew where she went, as we had no further news of her.

On Sunday the 11th of February we left this bay of La Victoria where we were anchored, and went out of the strait. We were unable to reach the place where the *San Gabriel* was, so we anchored three leagues from her on the south side. Presently the *Santa Maria del Parrel* came with Juan Sebastian on board, with all that could be saved from the wreck of the *Santi Spiritus*; also the *San Gabriel*. They anchored near us, and we remained at anchor together until Tuesday afternoon, which was Shrove Tuesday the 13th of February, when our anchor broke near the cross. We stood off and on, under a foresail, until Wednesday, when we sighted the *San Lesmes*, and we then went to the river Santa Cruz, to refit our ship. On Thursday morning the Captain General ordered Don Rodrigo, who was Captain of the *San Gabriel*, to return to the place where the *Santi Spiritus* was wrecked, and order the pinnace, which had remained there, to go to the port of Santa Cruz where she would find us, and to recover her boat, which the caravels had taken to recover what could be saved from the *Santi Spiritus* and which had been left there with the pinnace.

We entered the river of Santa Cruz on the 17th of February, and got everything out of the ship, hauling her up high and dry. We found three fathoms of the keel broken off and all the *adasta*. We had her on shore during eight tides, repairing her in the best way we could. The pinnace arrived on the 1st of March, with news that the *San Gabriel* had taken her boat, but there was no further

news of her. We were in this river until the 29th of March when we departed, and during all that time we had no news either of the *Anunciada* or of the *San Gabriel.*

On Thursday the 29th of March we left the river of Santa Cruz to return to the strait, the squadron then consisting of the *Victoria*, *Santa Maria del Parrel*, *San Lesmes*, and the pinnace. We sailed on that sea, sometimes with fair, and sometimes with foul weather, until Easter Monday when we found ourselves near the river of San Alifonso. That day the pinnace was not in sight. We had lost her on Sunday night, and had not seen her up to this time, nor did we know what had become of her[1]. On Thursday the 5th of April we passed the Cape of Virgins.

On Sunday the 8th day of April we entered the first strait, and passed through it in nine hours. As I have already said, this strait has a width of nearly a league, and is three leagues in length[2]. From the first to the second strait is W.S.W., the mouth of the one to that of the other being ten leagues. Following this course, keeping more on the north than on the south side, although you may go in mid-channel, you will see a small island outside the mouth of the second strait. Make for this island, pass it on the port side giving it rather a wide berth. The second strait is two leagues wide and four long. From its mouth to the island there are three leagues, and from this island to the northern coast barely one league. Between the two straits there is a great gulf which is ten leagues wide, and on its coast there are many bays.

There is great depth in this second strait. If by chance you should make for the north shore and try for soundings, you will find good and clean bottom. This strait runs, from one entrance to the other N.N.E. and S.S.W., and outside

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[1] She soon rejoined.

[2] The first narrow, named by Sarmiento "Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza."

there is a great gulf 12 leagues wide. On the coast to the east there are two bays ; and also a large bay on the west side extending over 12 leagues to W.N.W. and 5 leagues wide. Before reaching this bay there is a good anchorage with shelter S.W., and you can anchor in 8, 5, and 9 fathoms with clean bottom. From the island, mentioned before, to the third opening of the snowy mountains the course is N.E. or S.W. Going on this course you will see an island distant 2 leagues, and another larger one. You should pass a league clear of it, because some shoals run out from it, with 6 to 7 fathoms. Taking this course you will find great depth in the channel. When you are abreast of this island you will see a bay. Make directly for it, for here you will find a good harbour, called the port of La Concepcion. If you wish to enter it you must do so in this manner. Keep clear of the port side of the entrance at least a musket shot, going no nearer on that side as there are some shoals. Entering in this way you will find 18 to 25 fathoms in a well protected harbour with clean bottom. In leaving this port, intending to enter the third entrance of the strait, you should shape a S.S.W. course.

Having this island to the east, and the said port to the west, sailing on this S.S.W. course you must take this bearing to know the mouth of the strait. You will see ahead a lofty mountain high in the centre, and sloping to N.E. and S.W., on both sides forming four peaks, like the teeth of a French saw. To the S.E. there is another smaller mountain, with a ravine between them, and a league further on the small mountain ends at the sea shore like the snout of a tunny. Here is the entrance to het snowy strait. To enter this snowy strait you will presently see the opening, but you must take care not to be deceived ; for on the coast, to the east, 8 leagues beyond this mountain, you come to a great gulf. You must not take it for the strait, for it has no outlet. Then you come to another entrance to the strait which

is narrower. Leave it, and keep on by the west coast. At the point of the mountain you will then come to the strait's entrance. This mountain may be better known from there being another lower mountain near it, with a deep ravine between them, and before you reach the mountain you will see a low point running out like an island, but it is not one. From the second entrance of the strait to the end there are 3 leagues, and from the island to the end of the mountain which is the entrance to the third snowy strait there are 16 leagues. Thus from the entrance of the one strait to that of the other there are 23 leagues. On the coast to the S.E. there are very high mountains covered with snow. From above the crest of the nearer mountains a lofty peak rises which faces two points like Santa Entrega, but it is very high.

On Monday morning, the 16th of April, we arrived at the point of this mountain, which is at the entrance to the third strait, and this point is in 53°. This entrance has a width of 1½ leagues. The coast to the S.W. forms a large bay, and there is an opening, not very wide, supposed to lead to the open sea[1]. In this opening there is a small island. After doubling the point of this mountain, you will see another point[2] on the coast to the N.E. at a distance of 10½ leagues, and another to S.W. At a mile before reaching this S.W. point there are three islets near the shore, two smaller and one larger, which form a very good harbour, and near the rocks there are soundings in 7 fathoms. You may enter between any of these islands as the wind serves. Though the harbour is small, fear nothing, for you can get out to sea again.

Beyond this harbour[3] there is another point[4] a league

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[1] Channel of Santa Magdalena.

[2] Point Glascott, the southern boundary of San Nicolas bay. It is the end of a high range of peaks, that of the *Nodals* being the most conspicuous.

[3] Bay of San Nicolas.

[4] Cape Froward

distant, bearing west, and when you have rounded it, you will be in sight of the Port of Sardina[1]. This point was named the Cape of Descanso, and is three leagues from the Port of Sardina. A league further on you will find a large valley and in front of it there is a small island. In this valley there is a river of sweet water, with another small island at its mouth. On the coast to the S.W. there are indications of great bays and harbours. To the S.S.W. of this point, where the coast trends S.W., there is a large and a small island, half a league from the coast. In front of them there are three openings which appear to form good harbours. W.S.W. of the islands there is a bay which is thought to be a channel into the open sea[2]. Beyond this the strait becomes narrower, and is only three leagues across.

To reach the Port of Sardina it is necessary to sail along the north-east until you come to the island already mentioned. You will then see a point two leagues further on[3], and before coming to it there is a small beach, and in the middle of it there is a river of sweet water. Before arriving at the cape there is a well sheltered bay formed by a point called the Cape of San Jorge. From this cape to the bay of Sardina the distance is a league and a half. This port of Sardina is a small sandy beach having no shelter whatever, but a desert coast. Before reaching it, off the S.E. point, there is a shoal a cable's length from the shore. Opposite this beach of Sardina there is an island in the channel.

On Tuesday the 17th of April we arrived at this beach of La Sardina. It appeared to be a wretched place to be at, so we returned to the bay of San Jorge[4] to take in wood and water. Opposite this cape, on the south side, there are three openings which appeared to lead to good harbours,

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[1] Andrews Bay on west side of Cape Holandes.
[2] Channel of San Pedro. [3] Cape Holandes. [4] Bay of Solano.

and there are three small islands near the land, to the south. At the bay of San Jorge, Diego de Covarrubias died. On the same day two canoes of Patagonians came. They called to us in their language which we did not understand, and went on.

On Wednesday the 25th of April we left this cape with a light wind from the east.

On Thursday the 26th of April, in the afternoon, we came to a port on the coast to the S.W. which was called Buen Puerto[1]. Between this port and the east coast there are four islands, one large[2] and three small[3]. Beyond the beach of La Sardina, at a distance of four leagues there is another cape. Between it and La Sardina there is a low point, and another large one. Leave the four islands on your port side, passing between them and the coast. From this cape (four leagues from La Sardina) to the end of the strait at Cape Deseado the distance is 22 good leagues. The course is here N.W. to W. and in mid channel there are six islands, making ten with the other four. The first you come to is small, the second large, then three small, next one large, and opposite on the S.W. coast is the Buen Puerto already mentioned. This port has three small islands at the entrance. If you want to enter this harbour, leave the islands on your port hand, and anchor where it is convenient. Here you will find fresh water and plenty of wood. Passing the island in front of this port there is another large island, making eleven altogether. When you want to pass by this strait, leave all these islands on your port side, and keep along the N.E. coast. In front of the third large island, the land to the S.W. has two branches which are supposed to lead to the South Sea. Near these islands there are some small islets. The port bears from the large island

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[1] Perhaps Port Nash, but it is not a good port.

[2] Isle of Carlos III.

[3] Isles of the Princes.

N.N.E. and S.S.W. When you leave the port, have all these islands on your port side because the passage is not safe along the S.W. coast.

On Wednesday the 2nd of May we left the Buen Puerto and anchored among the islands because we were turned about by contrary tides. We found a good port between two large islands, named *San Pedro* and *San Pablo*[1]. You may know them because a league beyond there are two small islets, one larger than the other, and a league further on, in the last island, there is a wonderful port called *San Juan de Portalatina*[2]. We entered this port on Sunday the 6th of May. There are two small islands in it[3]. There is here as much wood and water as you can want. Bearing E.N.E. from the islands there is a large valley, and opposite this island harbour there is a bay on the mainland which is supposed to lead to the open sea. The bay is called *San Cristobal*[4]. All this channel, from the beach of La Sardina to the cape in front of the *Buen Puerto*, trends N.W. to W. 12 leagues. From that cape to the cape of the bay just mentioned it trends N.W. 4 leagues. From the cape of that bay to another cape in sight from it, which is called *Cabo Hermoso*[5], the course and distance is west 3 leagues. The channel between the island and the N.E. coast has a width of 1½ leagues in the narrowest part. We left this port of *San Juan de Portalatina* on Wednesday the 9th of May.

Between *Cabo Hermoso*[5] and the bay of *San Cristobal*, all on the N.E. coast, there is a bay called *Nevada*, which is a good port. If you want to enter it, you should take the

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[1] Port Butler, so named by Wallis, abreast of Cape Quod, very bad anchorage ground.

[2] Swallow Bay, named after Captain Carteret's ship. Very rocky bottom.

[3] Fitz Roy rock, and the kelp marking Fisgard rocks.

[4] Probably the Channel of San Jeronimo.

[5] Cape Quod, 800 feet high.

east side, and you will see a moderate-sized island and four other smaller ones, steer between the larger one and the shore, leaving the island on the port side, and anchoring where you like. If the wind is light when you want to enter or go out, you can pass between the large island and the smaller ones which is the best passage, for between the small islands there is only a depth of 4 fathoms. Between this port and *Cabo Hermoso*, as far from one as from the other, there is a shoal distant a mile from the N.E. coast, with only 1 fathom on it. When you wish to go by this channel, keep in the middle, and to know when you have passed the shoal, you will see a hill notched and white like Santoña[1]. With this hill to S.W. the shoal will bear N.E., and in this way you will know when you are clear. Beyond the *Cabo Hermoso* the coast trends N.W. to N.

When you pass *Cabo Hermoso* there is a very good harbour called the *Puerto de la Ascension*[2]. If you want to enter it you must follow this direction. You will presently see four islands north and south of each other. Leave them on the port hand steering north, when you will enter the harbour, and can anchor where you like. You can also enter it, leaving the islands on the starboard side, where there is another channel. Leaving the island to starboard you must steer N.E. to N. and you will come into the harbour. Being in this channel you will see a bay. Leave it, for this is not the harbour, but further on you will find a very good one.

On the S.W. coast this furthest island, where is the port of *San Juan de Portalatina*, being passed, N.E. and S.W. from its cape, there is another port. When you want to

[1] The Gibraltar of the north, a rock on the coast of Vizcaya, near Laredo. It rises perpendicularly from the sea, forming magnificent cliffs with a less steep incline on the land side. Santoña was the birthplace of Juan de la Cosa.

[2] Port of Guirion, a very bad anchorage and only for the smallest craft.

enter it, in a line with the cape of the island you will see a bay to S.W. Steer directly for it, and there is the port. You will see a little island off the starboard entrance. Sail past it and anchor where you like.

On this S.W. coast, a little further on, there is a rocky height called *Santoña*, and beyond it there is a large bay.

On Thursday the 10th of May we returned to the port of *San Juan de Portalatina* because we were unable to work our way onwards. On Monday the 14th of May we left that port again and on Tuesday the 15th we anchored in a port 12 leagues further on, on the S.W. coast. It was named *Puerto de Mayo*.

From this *Cabo Hermoso*, for 12 leagues, the coast runs N.W. to W. with a league and a half of width. It has this direction as far as a large island in the channel. On the N.E. coast there are four openings which appeared to form good ports. Before reaching the said island, a great bay[1] is formed on the N.E. coast where there also seem to be good ports. On the S.W. side two good ports appear. Before you reach the *Puerto de Mayo* there is an island, and the anchorage is outside it, for inside there is insufficient water. N.E. of this port, on the N.E. coast, there is a port.

On Friday the 25th of May, at noon, we left the *Puerto de Mayo* with a S.W. wind, and on Saturday morning, the 26th, we came to Cape *Deseado*[2]. About half a league from the *Puerto de Mayo* there is another very good harbour called *Espiritu Santo* which extends a league inland, and is like Ferrol. There are such a number of ports in these coasts as far as Cape *Deseado* that they cannot be counted.

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[1] Gulf of Xaultegua, 15 miles in length, and 4 wide.

[2] Cape Deseado is the south point of the western entrance of Magellan Strait. It was so named by Magellan. Since the voyage of Sir John Narborough it has, very improperly, been called Cape Pillar, 52. 43 S.—74. 41 W. It has two peaks, the western one like a pillar. The name *Deseado* has been poked away 2 miles S.E., where Magellan could not possibly have seen it.

On the N.E. coast there are many bays and indications of ports as far as the Cape of *San Alifonso*[1] which is at the outlet of the strait opposite Cape *Deseado*. Here the outlet is 5 leagues across, and between the last island and Cape *San Alifonso* there are five islands, one large which, with the four smaller ones, looks like the Berlings. They are almost in mid channel. When from here you would reach the S.W. coast after doubling Cape *San Alifonso* you will find three islands near the cape, and it bears from Cape *Deseado* nearly north.

On arriving at Cape *Deseado* after coasting along the south side, the directions for knowing it are that near it there is a round steep-to islet which is very high, and on the summit there is a sharp round peak, much higher than the islet. Thence the coast turns to the south. This cape is in 52. 20[2], and on the coast that turns south there are two small islands near the cape.

On Saturday the 26th of May we came out of the strait with the wind S.E. It was the day of San Antonio, and eve of Trinity.

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[1] Cape Victoria of Magellan.

[2] 52. 41. Cape Pillar is a modern name. It appears to have been given by Sir John Narborough, for I have not met with it at any earlier date. There are pinnacle rocks, like pillars, on the cape.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGE OF THE PINNACE *SANTIAGO*

AFTER PARTING COMPANY WITH THE FLEET OF LOAYSA

WITH THE MEMORABLE HEROISM OF THE CHAPLAIN JUAN DE ARREIZAGA

(*From Navarrete.*)

HAVING sailed out of the Strait of Magellan and entered the South Sea, in fair weather on the 26th of May 1526, the four ships *Santa Maria de la Victoria* (*capitana*), the *Parrel*, the *San Lesmes* and pinnace *Santiago* sailed in company until the 1st of June, when they were in 47. 30 S. and about 157 leagues from Cape Deseado. At this point they were dispersed by a gale, and never succeeded in joining company again. When the gale went down the pinnace sought for the fleet, but only sighted the *San Lesmes*. Those in the pinnace supposed that the others had gone ahead. They were afflicted because, their bread room being small, they had their bread on board the *capitana*. They numbered fifty persons, and only had 4 *quintals* of biscuit dust on board and 8 barrels of water, without any other food whatever[1], while they reckoned that they were 2200 leagues from the nearest land, being the Ladrones, where they could get anything to eat.

They determined to make for the coast which had been

[1] They were 50 days on the voyage to Tehuantepec, from 1 June to 20 July. They had 400 lbs. of bread dust for 50 persons. That would give 2½ ozs. of bread dust per man per day, with an occasional bit of fish.

discovered by the Captain General Hernan Cortes on the side of New Spain, reckoning the distance to be 800 or 1000 leagues. They shaped a course in that direction with all diligence, anxious to get out of the cold region. They found no fish in that great gulf, but a great variety of birds. They crossed the equator and on the 10th of July, in latitude 13 N. they saw that the sea was full of serpents large and small, with other fish of which they caught some. On the 11th they came in sight of an island, without being able to get near enough to see whether the land was an island or coast. On the 12th they were nearer the land, and saw smoke and many people. They anchored at a distance of a quarter of a league from the land. Next day they weighed and proceeded to search for a port, for although they saw many people, they had no boat by which to communicate with them. On the 20th they called to those on shore, showing a white flag, and they came to a small island where they anchored. Next day they got under weigh and on the 25th of July they anchored near a cape, in 15 fathoms clean sand.

They found themselves in such a condition that it was necessary for some one to go on shore ; so it was settled that somebody should go in a large box drifted to the beach by the waves, but well fastened to a rope which was secured inboard, so that if the box upset it could be hauled back again with the man. The individual was to take with him scissors, mirrors, and other things wherewith to barter with the Indians, so that they might not kill and eat him. The necessity, as well as the danger of this undertaking, moved the chaplain, Don Juan de Arreizaga, who was a cousin of the Captain Santiago de Guevara, to volunteer. They asked him not to go, but he answered that he would do it, as the safety of all hands depended on it. Commending himself to God he got into the box in his shirt and drawers, with a sword.

Half-way between the pinnace and the shore the box capsized. The chaplain swam and, judging that the shore was nearest, he made for it. But he was exhausted, and when he was half drowned, five Indians came to the rescue, and brought him on shore half dead. Then they left him. After half an hour the clergyman came to himself, and made signs to the Indians to come nearer. But instead of doing so, they threw themselves on the ground. The clergyman, thinking that this was a sign of peace and friendship, did the same. Presently the Indians went into the sea and secured the box and a hamper fastened to it, containing the articles for barter. They placed them by the side of the clergyman. He wanted to give them some of the things, but they would not take them, and they made signs for him to come with them. The clergyman Arreizaga went with them, taking his sword, and one of the Indians carried the hamper on his head.

They arrived at a valley where they lost sight of the pinnace, and passing on to a hill they reached a great town with many towers. Near it twenty thousand people came out to see Arreizaga, all armed with lances, bows and arrows, and in front there came ten thousand men, cleaning the road by which they passed. On arriving at the town, Arreizaga was taken before a lord under the shade of a tree, well attended. The Indians who had saved him from drowning told him that this was the Cacique. Arreizaga and the Cacique went on talking with each other, but without understanding. Then they came to a wooden cross fixed in the ground which caused the chaplain to shed tears of joy. The Cacique said "Santa Maria" pointing to the cross with his finger. The chaplain heard afterwards that it had been placed there by the Christians nine years before. He worshipped it on his knees, saying a prayer, all looking at him attentively.

When the clergyman had finished his adoration of the

cross, the Cacique took him by the hand, and led him into a great palace, where they gave him meat and fruit to eat, and he drank the wine of the country. After dinner Arreizaga gave the Cacique all the articles of barter, which he received with much pleasure. Arreizaga then said that he wished to return on board, and to take with him food for those that were in the vessel. So the Cacique ordered three deer and many other provisions to be brought, and wanted to take them himself. The clergyman then climbed a little hill and hailed the vessel, saying that it was a good land and that there was plenty to eat. Those on board rejoiced and fired off their guns. The Cacique and all the Indians were frightened, and threw themselves on the ground, but the clergyman raised his hand smiling, and told them not to be alarmed. As the sea was rough they returned to the town. That night they gave the clergyman a good supper, and a chamber of reeds to sleep in.

Next day the Cacique and the clergyman returned to the beach with more than ten thousand Indians. Three went into the water and swam to the pinnace, bringing back empty barrels, and the end of a cable with the other end made fast to other cables, and to a windlass, the whole length being 750 fathoms. The Cacique and the clergyman made their end fast on shore, and those on board took the other end to the capstan and hove round. Meanwhile 500 men were swimming to the ship with barrels full of provisions, for they were great swimmers. Then the pinnace got under weigh, sailed round a cape, and anchored in front of the town.

Next day the crew landed on a raft which had been made by the Indians. The Spaniards built huts on the beach, and food was brought to them. The captain, the chaplain, and six others went with the Cacique to the palace. The rest remained on the beach. A great multitude came out to them. They were there for five days,

very well treated and supplied with food, while the Indians sang, danced, and did all they could to please their visitors. The Cacique, without saying anything to them, had sent an account of their arrival to a Christian Governor who was in a city at a distance of 23 leagues. On the fourth day the messenger came back, saying that a Christian would arrive the next day. In effect on the fifth day after their landing they saw the arrival of a number of people, and that a Christian had come in a hammock carried by twelve Indians. He was the Governor of that land.

The Governor received all the Spaniards very well, and they gave him an account of their voyage, expressing a desire to know what land they had reached. He replied that it was New Spain, and that they should give thanks to God that they had reached a land where they would want nothing. On this they retired and, having been well treated before, they were treated even better afterwards. The Governor suggested that the Captain Santiago de Guevara should go to Mexico, which was distant only 150 leagues, being provided with guides on the road, and there Don Hernan Cortes would provide all that might be necessary. The Governor took charge of the crew. But the Captain was so ill that it was doubtful whether he would arrive alive, so it was arranged that Father Juan de Arreizaga should go to Mexico. The city in which they were was called Macatan[1], and the other, where the Governor resided, was Tecoantepeque[2]. The crew remained to build another vessel, so as to continue their voyage.

On the 31st of July Father Arreizaga set out from Tecoantepeque and, having arrived at Mexico, he gave an account to Don Hernan Cortes of all that had happened.

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[1] Not in Alcedo.

[2] Tehuantepec, then an "Alcalde Mayor" of the Mexico Viceroyalty in the Bishopric of Oajaca. The town is near the coast, 296 miles from Mexico, in lat. 16. 13 N. 95. 24 W.

Don Hernan received and treated him very well. Almost at the same time Cortes received an order from the Emperor to send two ships, which had been built at Zacatula, in search of the ship *Trinidad* of the fleet of Magellan, which had remained in the Malucos, and to join the fleet of the Comendador Loaysa. Cortes was convinced that ships might navigate to those islands, and he determined to fit out and arm, for despatch to the Malucos, three ships which had been built. But the pinnace which had arrived at Tecoantepeque with Santiago de Guevara could not be used for that voyage, being rendered unseaworthy by the barnacles.

NARRATIVE

OF THE

VOYAGE OF ALVARO DE SAYAVEDRA

1527—1529

BY

VICENCIO OF NAPLES

Account of the voyage made by the fleet which Hernan Cortes sent in search of the Spice Islands, by Vicencio of Naples.

NARRATIVE

OF ALL THAT WAS TRAVERSED AND DISCOVERED BY THE CAPTAIN ALVARO DE SAYAVEDRA

WHO SAILED FROM THE PORT OF YACATULO[1] IN NEW SPAIN ON NOVEMBER 1ST, 1527:

WHICH FLEET WAS DESPATCHED BY

DON HERNAN CORTES

MARQUIS OF VALLE, CAPTAIN GENERAL OF THEIR MAJESTIES

WITH THREE SHIPS SUPPLIED WITH ALL NECESSARY PROVISIONS, STORES, AND BRASS ARTILLERY

In the first place the Captain Alvaro de Sayavedra[2] went in a ship called the *Florida* with 38 landsmen and 12 sailors, 50 in all. He took three guns of *fuslera*[3] and 10 of iron. This ship was the *capitana.*

In the ship *Santiago* Luis de Cardenas, a native of Cordova, went as captain. She had a crew of 45 men, sailors and landsmen together. She carried one gun of *fuslera* and 8 of iron.

The third ship was named the *Espiritu Santo*, and was commanded by Pedro de Fuentes, a native of Xerez de la Frontera. She had a crew of 15 men and carried 6 guns of iron.

On the 1st of November we sailed from the port of Aguatlonejo[4] which is on the coast of New Spain. The

[1] Yacatulo, spelt more correctly Zacatula at p. 107, is on the Rio de las Balsas in the State of Guerrero. See note at p. 126 of vol. II. of the Conquest of New Spain by Bernal Diaz, edited by Mr Maudslay for the Hakluyt Society (Ser. II., vol. 24).

[2] Cousin of Hernan Cortes (*Galvano*).

[3] Metal made from the shavings off a brass gun when it is being turned.

[4] Galvano calls it Ciutlanejo (Siuantaneio y se agora chama Sam "Christonam"). None of these names are in Alcedo.

winds we experienced were those which are here set down. That day the winds were W. and W.N.W. and we steered S.S.W. making good about 10 leagues.

Next day, with the same wind, we made 12 leagues.

On the third day, with the same wind, we made 15 leagues on the same course; and on the fourth day, another 15 leagues.

On the fifth day the wind was N.W. and our course was S.W. 20 leagues. In the same weather we made 25 leagues good on the sixth day; and on the seventh 25 leagues.

On the eighth day our course was S.W. 40 leagues. At noon a leak was discovered in the after-part of the *capitana*, at a join in the keel; so we had to give two turns of the glass[1] to the pump, and to rest for half a turn. But we could not find the exact place of the leak; so we shortened sail and closed on the other ships. Captain Alvaro de Sayavedra went below and searched for the leak, but he could not find it then, nor until we came to an island called Mindanao. The Spaniards call it La Mendana, where we were for two months and a half.

On that eighth day the Captain Sayavedra consulted with the other captains whether they should go back to New Spain on account of the water that the *capitana* was making. They were of opinion that we should return. The Captain Alvaro de Sayavedra then asked the pilot what he thought of the leak, and he replied that we ought not to give up the voyage on account of it. His advice was taken, and owing to the work at the pumps the

[1] *Ampolleta*, an hour-glass. A boy took count of the glasses that ran out during his watch and, after striking the hour on the bell, he ran forward crying—"One hour passed in two turns, and more will pass if God will. Let us pray to God to grant us a good voyage: and to her, the Mother of God, who is our advocate, to deliver us from pumping out water and other troubles. Forward ahoy!" The watch on the forecastle answered "What does he say?" and ordered the boy to recite a Lord's Prayer and an *Ave Maria*.

Captain took the strongest men out of the other ships, and replaced them by the weaker ones in his own ship. The other captains said that Sayavedra should come on board one of the other vessels which were not leaking; he answered that in that ship he had sailed, and in that ship he had to be lost or saved. So he continued the voyage.

On the ninth day we were in 11 S. steering to the west, and made good 35 leagues.

On the 10th day we made good 40 leagues on the same course, on the 11th day another 40 leagues, on the 12th the same, on the 13th the same, on the 14th 45 leagues, on the 15th 40, on the 16th 35, on the 17th 45, on the 18th 50, on the 19th 35, on the 20th 60, and on the 21st we thought we sighted land, and stood to the W.N.W. all night, but in the morning we could see nothing and went back on our course, making 25 leagues. On the 23rd day we went on our course 35 leagues, on the 24th and 25th each 35 leagues, on the 26th 60 leagues, on the 27th 45 leagues, and on the 28th day 40 leagues.

On the 29th day out we discovered another leak in the fore-part of the *capitana*, which filled a compartment of the hold with water, wetting 60 *quintals* of bread, all the oil and vinegar, and other things. Before this leak was found, the ship would not answer her helm, and the Captain asked the master the reason. The master answered that he did not know the cause. The Captain ordered him to go below and ascertain, but he said that it was late, and that he would go down and see in the morning. On the same night the ship would not answer her helm, and as we were between the two other vessels, we could not give way to them nor them to us, so we dropped astern, and encountered a squall. The man at the helm was negligent, and the ship was taken aback and nearly swamped. At last we got the sail down. The other ships passed on ahead with a strong wind, and were soon out of sight. We showed many lights but they

never answered, and so we lost them. Our pilot went to bed, and did not care about making sail after them. Next morning we made sail on our course and never more was there any sign of them. This day we made 35 leagues.

On the same course, and with similar weather we sailed for another thirty days, without ever seeing any land.

On the sixtieth day, Saturday night, we altered course and steered W. b. S. That night it was calm. We made 10 leagues.

On Sunday morning we were within a league of land. Captain Alvaro de Sayavedra gave it the name of the Isles of the Kings[1], as it was the day of the kings. It is an archipelago of islands, numbering ten or twelve, and it is said that they are all inhabited. We were three days among them, turning from one direction to another, but we did not anchor at any of the islands because the sea is so deep that if we were to let go an anchor it would not reach the bottom. The natives came out to us in the small vessels they have, but they would not come near. Seeing that we could not reach a port by reason of the shoals between us and the land, and considering the length of time we had passed without anchoring anywhere, we continued our voyage on the same course.

The people of these islands are well grown, rather brown, with long hair, and no clothes except some matting made of reeds. The mats are so elegantly woven that, at a distance, they look like gold. With these mats they are clothed. The men have beards like Spaniards. For arms they have staves hardened by fire. We did not see what their food was, as we had no communication with them. These islands are in 11 N.

We went on all night, and next day we sighted other islands of the same kind, with the same sort of people. We

[1] The Ladrones.

went amongst them to see if we could find a watering place, for we were in great straits for drinking water. We found anchorage near one of these islands which was uninhabited, and all the men jumped on shore in search of water. We found a *xaque*[1] an arrow shot from the beach. The island is small, about a league in circumference. We were eight days at this island, getting wood and water on board. At a distance of three leagues there is an inhabited island, and the natives came but would have nothing to do with us and returned. The island is in 11°.

Afterwards the natives came back, and stopped on a low bank half a league from where we were. There were sixteen of them. A Spaniard waded across, only up to his knees, to where they were, and they received him in a most friendly way. The Spaniard asked them by signs to come to where we were, but they did not understand and went back to their island. The Spaniard returned none the worse.

We got 18 barrels of water and then made sail with an E.N.E. wind. Course west 30 leagues. Next day we made 25 leagues on the same course, next day 15, then we were becalmed for seven days and the crew began to fall sick. After the calm the wind sprang up again, and we made 30 leagues, next day 35, next day 40, next 45, next 30. The Captain then asked the pilot how far we were from our destination, and he replied 150 leagues. Next day we made 25 leagues with the same wind, next 20 leagues. The pilot fell ill, and next day he was very bad. We took him below, and he made his will. When he finished making it he died. He was a Portuguese named Ortuño de Araujo. We made 15 leagues, and also consigned the blacksmith to the deep. Next day the cooper fell ill, and died at the end of twenty days. Calm for two days.

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[1] A Sheikh or Chief.

Next day the wind freshened from E.N.E. three hours before sunset. We made 10 leagues.

The same day we sighted land, and shortened sail. Next morning we came into a very good harbour, anchored the ship, and got the boat in the water. We went to bury a sailor named Cansino, a native of Palos.

This island was uninhabited, and, searching for something to eat, we found nothing but shell fish. We were there 28 days, unable to leave the port owing to the bad weather, for it was winter on that coast, being the end of January, 1528. This island, where we took in wood and water, is in 10°.

Thence we made sail before a northerly wind and steered south for 80 leagues along the coast of the great island called Mindanao, for five days. While thus coasting along a king came out in a small vessel, three leagues out to sea, and stopped within a stone's throw from us, where he talked by signs, and we heard him, and replied, and he said by signs that we were to come on shore, where he would give us rice and cocoa-nuts. So we followed him, and moored with two anchors, one to the north, the other to the south. We anchored in the afternoon, and called to the natives to come on board, but they would not. Then we threw jars overboard, asking them to bring water, and they took the jars and filled them, and brought them back, and put them in the boat, not consenting that any should get into it, but pushing it with a lance, the boat being secured by a chain, and so we got about ten jars of water.

Next morning a great crowd came on the land, including many women carrying boys who they put down in front of the ship, which was a cross-bow's shot from the beach.

The king is called Catonao in their language, and his son-in-law, who is also a king, came in a small vessel with three persons and his son, a child in arms. They came on

board and were very well received by the Captain who took the child in his arms, and gave it some beads. The visitors were given to eat, with wine, but they did not drink it. They remained for half an hour, and then the king said he wished to go on shore as his father-in-law was there. There were about 300 people assembled on the beach.

In the following night three or four men came in a boat, and took the buoy which we had on shore, and plunged it into the water. They tore it from the anchor, which they raised, and got it on board their boat, fastened to the chain. They then hauled on the chain thinking they could go away with the ship. Finding they were unable to do that, they cut the cable and took the anchor on shore. Then they took reeds, as thick as a man's thumb, twisted into a length of 300 fathoms, and went back to where they had cut the cable. They then fastened their cable to ours and returned on shore, where all the people began to haul with the object of wrecking the ship. They did this under the direction of three captive Spaniards who had been wrecked in one of the ships of the fleet of the Comendador Loaysa. Seeing that they could not drag the ship on shore they asked the Spaniards the reason. They were told that there must be another anchor down which prevented it. They then went under the ship's bows in their boat. The watch on the forecastle saw them come close under the bows, but the Captain had ordered that even if the natives came quite close, no harm was to be done to them. The watch, therefore, let them come quite close without saying anything. Being there they raised a hatchet to cut the other cable. Seeing this the watch cried out and they, seeing that they were found out, went away laughing and pretending it was a joke. So they went on shore, and by that time it was dawn.

Next day the wind blew from the sea, and the anchor

dragged. Then we began to haul on the cable and found it cut, and the end fastened to the shore cable. Then we saw the damage that had been done, and the intended treachery.

On this day, in the morning, one of the Spaniards who were in captivity, fled into the forest. When the natives missed him, thinking that he had gone on board the ship, they went away without saying a word, taking the other two Spaniards with them.

The fugitive came down to the beach near the ship, hiding behind some stones, and made signals to us with his hand. The Captain ordered the boat to go and see who it was. On seeing this the man swam out and was taken into the boat, and brought to the ship. From him we learnt all that had been done, and many things concerning the land and its people. His name was Sebastian, a native of Oporto and married in Coruña. We gave him refreshment and the Captain gave him clothes.

This Spaniard was asked whether he knew in what latitude that land was. He said that the Bachiller Tarragona, who came in the fleet of the Comendador Loaysa, told him that a bay that was near was in 8°. These natives are called Celebe, and they are very treacherous. They obtain much gold from mines. They dress in cloths of good cotton. They are handsome, the women beautiful, and both sexes let their hair go loose. For arms they have swords which they call *alfanjes*[1], lances, and arrows with blow pipes, blown from the mouth, the dart a *palmo* in length. For defensive arms they have very good cuirasses of cotton. They have bronze guns, and can make gunpowder. They are a warlike people and fight among themselves. They have kings adorned with crowns of gold and stones of great

[1] A curved sword like a Scimitar.

value. They have many pigs and fowls, much rice, and other provisions.

We made sail with a northerly wind and arrived off a cape called Tacabalua, which is in 5 N. and 50 leagues from our anchorage. This had taken us three days, when we passed the cape. When we were two leagues south of the cape it blew hard from the north and we shortened sail. Then the wind veered to E.N.E. and we were driven into a bay formed by an island three leagues in circumference. It was inhabited and three leagues from the large island. We wanted to anchor but, on sounding, found no bottom. We shortened sail and went on shore in the boat, the Captain with twelve other men and the fugitive Spaniard as interpreter. We had scarcely landed when about 50 armed men approached us. The interpreter declared to them that we did not come to do them any harm, but only to buy provisions for which we would pay. They were surprised to hear any stranger speak in their language, and said they would go for orders to their king who was about half a league away, and bring back the answer. They came back and said that the king was gouty, but that he was coming though his illness prevented him from moving faster. He arrived with his wives, two daughters and two sons. One of the sons carried arms, a helmet of plumes in one hand, sword and shield in the other. The king sat on some cloths, and the interpreter said to him that a captain from the Emperor of Spain had come, to be their friend and to make peace, without doing them any harm or injury. The king enquired what they wanted. The interpreter replied that the Captain needed provisions and would pay for them. The king said he would give nothing until peace had been made with him; but when made he would give what he had. The Captain asked the interpreter what was the custom in making peace. The answer was that blood must be taken from the arm of each, and that they must mutually drink each other's

blood. The Captain asked the king to come into the boat as there was no cause for fear. The king said he did not wish to get into the boat, and asked the Captain to come on shore, pointing out that it was quite safe as he had his wife and children with him. The Captain was about to land when he saw that the natives were coming armed, in war-like array. He said that they should not come with arms but without them, as he feared they might kill him or do him some injury. The king said that the Spaniards must not land with arms, as he was ill and could not defend himself. He told them to return to their ships, and that he would send them all the provisions they needed. To this the Captain agreed, and returned to the ship. As the depth of water was so great the ship could not be anchored, and as the wind began to blow from the N.W. we were forced to make sail and proceed on our voyage without being able to have any further communication with the king who was on shore. This day we made good ten leagues.

Leaving the bay we passed two islands called Candigar and Sarragana[1], both inhabited, about half a league apart. Candigar is a high wooded island about three leagues in circumference. The other is low, having some hills of moderate height, and is about four leagues round. They are three leagues from Mindanao, in 4 N.

We reached a port at noon and before anchoring the natives came out to us in a large boat containing twenty persons. They brought with them the two captive Spaniards with their hands tied behind their backs and naked except for a kind of shoes on their feet. These had been in the fleet of the Comendador Loaysa. The boat came alongside and the Spaniards saluted us in our language. They said that they belonged to the fleet of the Comendador, and had been captives for five months. They entreated the Captain, for

[1] Sarrangan.

the love of God, to ransom them and not to leave them in slavery. The Captain answered—"Be assured that though they ask for all I bring, not including the ship, I will not abandon you. Speak to the natives and tell them that I come in the name of the Emperor to establish peace with them, and that I need provisions for which I will pay to their satisfaction." They returned to the shore, and the ship came to an anchor. Presently the natives came back, bringing the Spaniards with them, and said that, before anything else, to make peace we must drink blood with them. The Captain said that one native must come on board, and one Spaniard would go on shore. This was done, and next day the king came on board and made peace. They then brought us plenty of provisions, fowls, rice, wine of the country, cloves and cinnamon, for which we exchanged cloths, and rich garments of New Spain. We were three days at this island, during which we ransomed the two Spaniards for gold of the bulk of 70$. which the Captain paid. The two Spaniards were received on board. They told us that the Spaniards were at an island called Tidore and that they were at war with the Portuguese.

We made sail with a southerly course, the wind north, and proceeded for four days, always seeing inhabited islands, until we came to the island of Terrenate where the Portuguese have a fortress. At noon we saw three native row boats bringing five or six Portuguese. One came alongside and saluted us, asking whence the ship came. We told him we were Spaniards and that we came from New Spain. Without another word they returned to their fortress which was distant ten leagues.

In the afternoon of the same day three boats came to us from the city of Gilolo, where the Spaniards of the Comendador Loaysa had a fortress. They came alongside and in each boat there was a Spaniard. They asked us whence the ship came and we replied from New Spain.

They did not believe us, saying that we were joking and that we were Portuguese. We told them to look at our flag which bore the Emperor's arms. We assured them that we were Spaniards, and that they should come on board, and have no fear. Having sworn all the oaths we could think of that we were Spaniards, they still would not believe it. At last one came on board full of suspicion, and when he was satisfied that we were Spaniards, he called up the other two, who also came on board. The Captain was informed by them that, ten leagues away, the Captain Fernando de la Torre was established with 80 men of the fleet of the Comendador Loaysa. Then one of the Spaniards departed, to announce our arrival to the said captain, the other two remaining on board; while the two native boats went to take the news to the king of Gilolo, who was three leagues from where the ship was.

Next morning a *fusta*[1] and 10 or 12 *coracoras* arrived, which were rowing boats, and they were propelled with oars because it was calm. They came from the island of Terrenate where the Portuguese are, and arrived at our ship. Seeing them coming, the two Spaniards who were on board told the Captain that they came to seize the ship or else to sink her. They knew them, and these Portuguese had declared that they would not let Spanish ships remain, but would destroy them with their guns, on coming near. They intended to be lord over him, not he over them. The Captain answered that he did not come to fight with anybody, nor to do any harm so long as they did not attack him. Arrived within hail, the Portuguese saluted and asked where the ship came from. We replied that she was from New Spain. The Captain, named Hernando de Vanday, who was in the *fusta*, ordered our Captain to come on board his vessel. Our Captain said that the Portuguese

[1] A cargo vessel with lateen sails.

might come on board our ship while he went on board the *fusta*, and that they could then talk. The Portuguese insisted that our Captain must come on board the *fusta*, and he answered that he would not leave his ship. Our Captain then asked the Portuguese whether there were any Spaniards in that country. The answer was that a Spanish ship arrived about seven or eight months ago, and that she had come to the Portuguese fortress, where the Spaniards were given provisions and a cargo of spices, and sent on to Spain. The same would be done now if our Captain would come to the fortress. The Captain told them to go, and that he would follow later. They replied that they would not go unless they brought him with them. Seeing that we did not intend to do what they wanted, they again ordered us to come with them, and declared that our Captain would be responsible for any consequences that might ensue from a refusal. Our Captain answered that if there were no Spaniards in the land he would go with them, but if there were he desired to join his countrymen. The Portuguese answered that there were no Spaniards in all the country. Then one of the two Spaniards on board, named Simon de Vera, cried out "Why cannot you speak the truth?" When the Portuguese heard that they turned their faces, and ordered the gunner to fire off a cannon that was in the bows. He fired, but it pleased God that nothing should come of it, and the same happened twice. Seeing what they were trying to do, our Captain ordered our guns to be fired, but, as the *fusta* was small and very close to us, the guns could not be trained on her and no harm was done. At this time a breeze sprang up from the S.E. and we shaped a course to the port of the city of Gilolo where the Spaniards were, leaving the Portuguese astern. They followed but could not overtake us, and so they continued, firing shots until we reached the port. After we had arrived, the Portuguese returned to their fortress. On their way

back they met a vessel with another Portuguese captain on board bringing more help and much artillery. So they again turned upon us, and began to open fire which we returned. It pleased God that they should hit our main-mast more than once, and one ball fell on the deck without hurting any one. They were firing upon us for three or four hours, when a *fusta* came to our help, which had been sent by the Captain Fernando de la Torre. Seeing this the Portuguese fled, returning to their fortress.

We had arrived at the port occupied by the people of the Comendador Loaysa, who were under the command of the Captain Fernando de la Torre, a native of Burgos, who had with him 120 men and 24 pieces of artillery, besides the *fusta* which had come to our help. Our Captain and all the crew, numbering about thirty, went on shore and were well received by the Captain and his people, who had been there eight months. They had arrived only with the *capitana*, and the king of Tidore had welcomed them, supplying them with provisions in exchange for their money. This king of Tidore, named Rajamir, received them and helped them in their war with the Portuguese, for he had been ill treated by them because he had favoured the affairs of the Emperor. This was long ago when the Captain Espinosa, with one of the ships of Magellan's fleet, came, and the king of Tidore became favourable to Spanish interests. The Captain Fernando de la Torre lodged us all and treated us very well. We were there two months, careening our ship, and refitting her. On the second day after our arrival the Portuguese came back with their armed vessel and *fusta* to bombard us, but they did us no harm.

At the end of fifteen days they came back again with their *fusta*, intending to bombard our ship when she was hauled up ready to be careened, and believing that the *fusta* of the Captain Fernando de la Torre was not there.

They had been told so by a spy they had sent. They came along close to the shore so as to be concealed from us, and to take us by surprise. But our *fusta* had been got ready by one de los Rios, a native of Toledo. He was told that he could not engage them owing to their superiority in artillery, but that he should board them. This he did, killing many of them, including their Captain, named Hernando de Vanday. The rest surrendered, and the *fusta* was brought to our fortress with the crew as prisoners.

The refitting of our ship was completed in the end of May 1528 and, being ready for sea, a Portuguese came from their fortress with a letter to our Captain Alvaro de Sayavedra. It was from Gonzalo Gomez de Acevedo, the captain who had recently arrived with 200 men and 5 ships. On his arrival the Captain Don Jorge de Meneses wanted to attack and destroy us, to which Gonzalo Gomez de Acevedo was opposed. He said that he had his mandate from the King of Portugal, and that he would do all that he was ordered to do, but not what he was not ordered to do. He said, in the letter to Captain Alvaro de Sayavedra, that he wished to arrange an interview, but it did not take effect for many reasons urged by Fernando de la Torre, which hindered it.

Seeing that the ship was ready for sea, our Captain determined to embark, and the Captain Fernando de la Torre gave him 60 *quintals* of cloves as a cargo, out of what belonged to the Emperor.

Being ready to sail, one Simon de Brito, a Portuguese who was there with Fernando de la Torre, of his own free will, said to our Captain that he wished to go with him. As our pilot was dead, and this man said that he was one, and at the request of Fernando de la Torre, our Captain consented. Four other Portuguese, of those who were made prisoners, also joined, and thus we embarked 30 men. We made sail on the 3rd of June 1528.

Our course was E.N.E. for three days with a S.W. wind, but then we met with calms which continued for 25 or 30 days. We then arrived at an island called "del Oro" and anchored. This is a large island, well peopled by a black race with woolly hair, who go naked[1]. They have arms of iron and swords. They supplied us with fowls, pigs, rice, and beans. We were there 32 days, owing to the weather not being favourable.

When we were ready to get under weigh this Simon de Brito, and the four other Portuguese, while our Captain was on shore, took the boat saying they were going to the island. But they stood out to sea, by the way we had come. Deprived of our boat, both those of us who were on board, and those who were on shore were hindered.

When the Captain saw that our boat was gone, he constructed a raft, and reached the ship with those who were with him. He then ordered sail to be made and steered S.E. 14 leagues when we came to an island. Thence we passed many islands. The inhabitants of one came out for two leagues to shoot arrows at us. They were black, ugly, and naked. We were there for three days and captured three natives, bringing them on board. We passed on to another island where the people were white and bearded. They came out in their canoes with slings and stones, threatening to attack us, and then returned to their island which is in 7°.

Thence we stood to the N. and N.N.W. until we were in 14°, where we met with strong contrary winds which forced us to steer a course in the direction whence we came. This brought us to an island which is 380 leagues from Maluco. It is one of the Ladrone Islands. Thence we steered a course which brought us to the Island of Mindanao. That

[1] New Guinea. Sayavedra was there for about a month, discovering about 50 leagues of the coast beyond what had been seen by Meneses (*Galvano*).

part where we reached it is called Bizaya, the name of the inhabitants. Thence we came to Sarragana, where we had left a Spaniard who was ill, when we were there before. Here we anchored and remained for two days, waiting for natives to come, to give us water and tell us about the Spaniard. They came and told us that the king was not there, and that the Spaniard was with him. They lied, for they had sold him. We heard this at Malacca afterwards, from the same Spaniard who was there. His name was Grijalva. As we had no boat, or any means of getting water, and as the natives would not help us, we took a route for the islands of Mehao, twenty leagues from Maluco. Thence we went back to Tidore, whence we had sailed the first time. There we found Fernando de la Torre with the people he had with him before, and there we anchored again. This was in October 1528. We once more careened the ship, and were employed in this way for six months.

Here we found Simon de Brito, and one of the other Portuguese who stole the boat. They had stated that our ship and all her crew had been lost, and that they alone had escaped in the boat. The Captain Fernando de la Torre proceeded against them, and sentenced one to be beheaded and quartered, and the other to be hung. So it was done.

We got under weigh and left Tidore on the 8th of May 1529, steering E.N.E., taking the same route as on the former occasion, passing the same islands, and reaching the place where we had seized the three natives. Two of them had jumped into the sea. The third remained, and we landed him on the same island whence we had taken him. He had become a Christian and had acquired our language. He had been taught that he might tell the natives what people we were, and that if they would bring us provisions we would pay for them. That we might not have to get the boat out, and as he was ready to swim, the Captain let

him swim of his own accord. But the natives of the island killed him in the water, and he cried out to us, but nevertheless they killed him. So we made sail on a E.N.E. course, and, after 250 leagues, we came to some other small islands, all inhabited by brown people, bearded, and naked except for some palm matting.

Four or five natives pulled off in a canoe, and came so near that we could have spoken to them. They made threatening signs and one of them threw a large stone which struck the stern of the ship, splitting the plank. The Captain ordered a musket to be loaded and fired at him, but he was not hit, so they went back to their island[1] and we proceeded on our voyage. These islands are in 7°, a thousand leagues from where we started, and to New Spain another thousand.

Thence we steered N.E. 18 leagues, and came to some low islands[2], anchoring near one of them. We then hoisted a flag and six or seven canoes came out and made fast to our bows. The Captain gave them a cloak and a comb, and they, in taking the presents, came on board. There were twenty men and one woman who appeared to be a witch. They brought her to tell them what people we were according to what she could make out from our hands. The Captain treated them well and gave them presents. We made friends insomuch that a Spaniard undertook to go on shore with them, and did so. On landing the chiefs of the land met him, and took him to their houses, which are large and roofed with palm leaves. These people are white, and painted on their arms and bodies. The women are beautiful with long black hair, very graceful and well made. They go barefoot. The men have for arms, staves hardened in the fire, and their food is cocoa-nuts and fish. The length of the island is one league. The Captain

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[1] Isla de los Pintados. [2] Los Jardines.

and most of the crew landed, and the men and women came forward to receive them, singing, and playing on drums. The Captain sat down with the chief, and among other questions the chief asked what a musket was which he saw. By signs the Captain gave him to understand what it was. The chief asked him to fire it off, and to please him he did so. It caused such terror that all the people fell down, and then began to run for the shelter of the palm trees. The chief and some others remained, though they were much startled. The chief, and all his people to the number of a thousand souls, got into their canoes and went to an island three leagues off. We remained there without receiving any injury from them. We were eight days at this island owing to the illness of the Captain, during which time the natives came back, and helped us to get 18 barrels of water on board. They also gave us 2000 cocoa-nuts, and did everything we asked them. These islands are in 11 N.

Thence we continued our voyage, steering north until we reached 26, and here our Captain died[1]. At the time of his end and death he called all the crew, and asked them to navigate as far as 30 N. When there, if the weather was not favourable for returning to New Spain, they were to go back to Tidore, and give up the ship, with everything in it to the Captain Fernando de la Torre, that he might do with it what would be best for the service of our Lord the Emperor. He appointed Captain Pedro Laso to succeed him, a native of Toledo, who died at the end of eight days. The master and pilot remained the principal persons on board. We went on until we reached 20 N., always with contrary winds, and as we did not find any weather that

[1] Sayavedra appears to have been an able commander. According to Galvano he conceived the idea of a Panama canal. "Levava em proposito de fazer com o emperador que mandasse abrir esta terra de Castello de ouro de mar a mar."

would help us there, we were forced to return whence we had come.

From 31 N. we shaped a westerly course until we came to an island of the Ladrones, where we anchored. We calculated the distance to the Maluco Islands to be 1200 leagues, and to New Spain another 1000 leagues. We were one day at this island getting refreshment, and here we lost an anchor.

Thence we made sail back to Maluco, making for Bisaya which we could not fetch. Passing on we came to the island of Tarao, 120 leagues from Maluco, but we could not find bottom, and were obliged to go on to the port of Zamafo, in the island of Gilolo, where we anchored.

We reached this port in the end of October, and found the Captain Fernando de la Torre here who had lost the fortress of Tidore, which had been taken by the Portuguese. We delivered up the ship to him, with all that was on board. The Captain took charge as well of the ship, as of the property of our late Captain.

All the crew of the ship, numbering about 18 men, went on shore. The ship was seen to be destroyed by barnacles. Those Spaniards who were there, had to suffer much owing to the disorder that prevailed. Some made their way to Malacca, others remained at Gilolo. Those who went to Malacca were arrested by the Captain Don Jorge de Castro, who ordered that we should not be allowed to depart from there until two years and a half. Of twenty of our men who arrived there, no more than nine escaped, when at last the king of Portugal ordered that we should be allowed to go.

The author of this narrative is Vicencio of Naples, who left New Spain in the said fleet, went through all that has been described, reached Lisbon, and from thence came to Spain. He was at the Court of His Majesty, and gave an

account of the whole voyage. He asked for help in his work, and they ordered him to receive 14 ducats. These were the mercies of the Council.

All the accounts, reports, and charts of this navigation were seized by Nuño de Acuña, Governor of India, because Fernando de la Torre had remained in his power.

The man named Grijalva, already mentioned, who had been left on an island and forgotten, met with the following destiny.

At the time when we were making our voyage to the islands of Maluco, we arrived at the island of Sarragan, which is in the archipelago, and some 120 leagues from Maluco. Off this island we anchored, and were bargaining with the natives for three days, buying fowls, pigs, and rice, which were plentiful. This Grijalva was then so ill that it was thought he could not recover. He requested the Captain that, as he was about to die, he might be allowed to remain on that island. Seeing that he was very ill, the Captain left him in charge of the governor of that island, requesting that he might be well treated and cured. The natives promised that they would do so, and the ship sailed without him.

This Spaniard was on the island for eight months, when the governor of it sold him to the king of the island of Mindanao. There were two other Spaniards at Mindanao, of those who had been lost in the fleet of the Comendador Loaysa. This became known in Malacca, and the Governor, Garcia de Sá, wrote to the king of Borneo that three Spaniards who were in his power, on that island, were to be sent to Malacca. The king spoke to the Spaniards, saying that they had been sent for from Malacca. If they feared to go there he said that he would not send them, but if they wished to go, he would give them the means of doing so. The distance from that island to Malacca is 200 leagues. The Spaniards chose to be taken there,

and we saw them in Malacca, and received this account from them.

This island of Borneo is more than 120 leagues in circumference. In it there are Moors and Gentiles who make war with each other. They are friends with the Portuguese, but do not contribute anything beyond the trade with them in camphor, of which they have quantities, and slaves whom they sell.

EXPEDITION

OF

SIMON DE ALCAZABA

BY

ALONSO (VEEDOR)

1534—1535

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

VOYAGE OF SIMON DE ALCAZABA

Simon de Alcazaba was a Portuguese officer who, after doing some work for his own country in the East Indies, had entered the Spanish service. He seems to have been considered an able navigator, for he was selected by the government of Charles V as a deputy at the Badajos conference. But the Portuguese objected to him, probably because they thought that the evidence of a compatriot who knew the East Indies, but had changed his allegiance, might be injurious to their case. The objection was allowed, and another expert was appointed in his place.

After the failure of the expedition under Sebastian Cabot, Alcazaba was appointed to command another relief expedition. But in the meanwhile Charles V had sold his rights to the Spice Islands to the king of Portugal by a capitulation dated at Zaragoza 22 April, 1529. The preparations for the relief expedition were, therefore, stopped. This gave Alcazaba, who was an officer advanced in years, some claim to consideration. He had interest at court, and was backed by the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo and other powerful friends.

Pizarro and Almagro had obtained grants of large slices of South America, their provinces being called New Castile and New Toledo. Alcazaba obtained a grant, of the same tenor, of a territory 300 leagues in extent, commencing at the southern termination of the grant to Almagro. He was

appointed Governor and Captain General of the Province of New Leon, including Patagonia, in 1534[1].

The story of this ill-fated expedition is one of mutiny, murder, and terrible suffering. It has been told by Alonso (Veedor), an eye-witness of all that happened, in a straightforward unprejudiced narrative. Another version of the events of the expedition of Alcazaba was written by one Juan de Mori, who was in a higher position than the Veedor, but with much prejudice, and it is certainly not so reliable[2]. The version of Alonso (Veedor) has, therefore, been selected for translation for this volume. We meet with Juan de Mori and his doings several times in the narrative of Alonso (Veedor). A full account of the Alcazaba expedition is also given by Herrera.

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[1] *Herrera* Dec. v. lib. 7, cap. 5.

[2] "Relacion del desgraciado viaje que hijo al reconocimiento del estrecho de Magellanes la armada de Simon de Alcazaba, asesinado por su gente en el puerto de Leones." It has not been edited, and is only known from extracts.

NARRATIVE

OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED IN THE FLEET

OF

SIMON DE ALCAZABA

WHO WENT OUT AS GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF LEON IN THE PARTS OF THE SOUTH SEA.

HAVING TO PASS

THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

HE TOOK TWO SHIPS, THE *CAPITANA* CALLED *LA MADRE DE DIOS* AND THE OTHER CALLED *SAN PEDRO*

IN WHICH WERE EMBARKED, INCLUDING PASSENGERS AND SAILORS, 250 PERSONS

THE NARRATIVE

IS TAKEN FROM A COPY WHICH WAS WRITTEN

BY

ALONSO (VEEDOR)

SCRIVENER TO HIS MAJESTY

Coleccion de Munoz tomo XXXVI

PRINCIPAL OFFICERS &c. OF ALCAZABA

Governor and Captain
M **Simon de Alcazaba**

His son
D **Fernando de Alcazaba,** lost in the *Madre de Dios*

Master of the Capitana
D **Juan de Echaruaga,** lost in the *Madre de Dios*

Mate of the Capitana
Martin de Loriaga

Purser of the Capitana
Martin de Garay

Carpenter of the Capitana
Sancho de Aroya

Pilot of the Capitana
M **Alonso Rodriguez**

Lieut. of the Governor
Rodrigo de Isla Montañez of Escalona, later Master of the *San Pedro*

Servant of the Governor
Juan de Mori, afterwards *Captain*

Overseer
P **Alonso** (Escribano)

Captain (42 lancers)
S **Rodrigo Martinez** of Cuellar

Captain (42 archers)
† **Juan Arias** of Zamora, beheaded

Captain (42 lancers)
† **Gaspar de Sotelo** of Medina del Campo, beheaded

Captain (33 arquebusiers, 10 archers)
P **Gaspar de Aviles** of Alcaraz

M Murdered by mutineers. † Mutineers executed S Left on shore.
D Drowned. P Put in prison for complaining.

Ensign (of Arias)
† **Pedro de Yaraza** of Colindres

Ensign (of Sotelo)
† **Diego de Ruicon** (*Ruison*, p. 150)

Ensign (of Aviles)
s **Mexia** of Aviles

Chief of Squadrons (of Arias)
† **Chaos Navarro**, thrown overboard
Ortiz of Medina de Pomar, thrown overboard

Chief of Squadrons (of Sotelo)
s **Nuño Alvarez**, a Portuguese
Recio of Medina del Campo

Chief of Squadrons (of Aviles)
Micer Luis, a Florentine
Ochoa de Menaza, a Biscayan (*Alguazil*)

† Benito Falcon de Lebrixa, hung
s Diego Ximenez
s Anton Martinez
s Alejo Garcia Herrera
† Juan Gallego, hung, servant of Pavon de Xeres
p Hernan Perez
p Alonso Mostrenco
p Simon de Moruguilla
p Diego Aleman
p Juan Sanchez
p Saravia
p Juan de Torres
p Carmona
p Santa Cruz
p Romero
h Cordero
† Anton de Baena of Trebuxena Escovedo (*Alguazil*)
Purser, Brother of Mori

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† Mutineers executed.
p Put in prison for complaining.
s Left on shore.
h Died of hunger.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE VOYAGE OF SIMON DE ALCAZABA

THE said Captain embarked at the town of San Lucar de Barrameda on the 20th of September, 1534, and made sail from the said port on the day of St Mathias, being the 21st of that month.

On the 23rd he put back to Cadiz because one of his ships was leaking, and needed some repairs which were presently effected. On the next day they left the bay of Cadiz at night. In the first watch the *capitana* struck a rock in front of Rota. A large piece of the keel came up, and she made enough water.

We arrived at Gomera in the afternoon of Thursday the 2nd of October, where we remained eight days. The repair of the ship was effected by a diver who fixed a patch over the place where she struck, well caulked and greased, with many nails to secure it.

We left Gomera in the afternoon of Thursday the 15th of October of that year, and two days after sailing, the captain gave orders respecting the rules to be observed by the passengers who were on board. They were that each man was to have daily ten ounces of biscuit, issued by weight, and two measures of wine, equal to three *azumbres*[1], for every ten men, two sardines per man daily, or else a little half-putrid meat. But many days passed when one or other part of the ration was not issued, except the bread

[1] An *azumbre* is about $\frac{1}{2}$ a gallon.

and wine which was ordinarily served out. Both the ships together had only three casks of injured meat, the same of sardines, and half a thousand *cazones*[1]. So that the passengers could only touch the ration of bread and wine, throughout the voyage, except those who took their own food.

Before twenty days, more or less, the above ration for the passengers was reduced to eight ounces and no more; and on the day of San Andres, being in sight of Gomera, where we were becalmed for 10 days, not moving more than ten leagues, during the whole time, and with such calms that there was no one who could endure it, they reduced the ration of wine, the same quantity having to suffice for 15 men, instead of 10 men.

On the 20th of November we sighted three islands called Trinidad, but did not stop, leaving them on our right hand. On the following Saturday we came in sight of the mainland of Brazil, leaving it on that night, on our right.

On the 15th of December we lost sight of our consort the *San Pedro*, and the *capitana* encountered much bad weather, with many gales from Christmas to Epiphany and New Year's Day. On Saturday the 2nd of January, 1535, we sighted the mainland at Cape Blanco, and on the 13th of January we came to the river Gallegos. On Friday the 15th of January we took in water from the same coast, of which the ship was in some need. They had so reduced the ration for the sailors that for many days they only got wine and no water at all. So that all, whether passengers or sailors, only received the eight ounces of biscuit and wine. They gave nothing else, neither fish, nor beans, nor peas, though they had them on board.

On Sunday the 17th of January we reached the mouth of the strait and the next day we were joined by the *San*

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[1] Dogfish.

Pedro which had been lost. They said they had been taking in water at the Cape of San Domingo, where they discovered some islands in the sea, with many beasts on them, which some said were seals, but from their middles upwards they were like lions, as well as in their roaring and their eye teeth. Their hands and feet were like wings, but with five fingers and nails showing. Their greatest force was in their hands, on which they moved and gave fairly good jumps. Their skins were as thick as a cow's, and they were fat like pigs. There was a seal from which three *arrobas* of such good grease were taken that it appeared to be better than common grease, without any bad smell. Fish were fried with it and were better to eat than if they had been fried with pigs' lard. However cold it might be the flesh of these beasts was never frozen. It was very good to eat, and the people who were fed with it declared that it was as good as mutton.

On Monday the 18th of January both ships entered the strait and anchored where there was a high cross on a mast fixed in the ground, with the inscription—"The year 1526." We went into the strait as far as the island of the ducks[1], which they said was a third part of the strait. Our boat went to that island and, in three or four hours, brought back more than 300 ducks[2]. In truth they were a new kind. They were unable to fly, and were killed with sticks.

As winter was very near and the winds were contrary we agreed to turn back on the 5th of February. We left the strait on the 9th of that month and arrived at the bay near the Cape of San Domingo on the day of St Mathias the Apostle, entering a river between two mountains, which might have a depth of six fathoms at high water, but at low water the ships were almost aground. It was named the Port of Lions.

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[1] Penguin Islands or Elizabeth Island.

[2] Penguins.

We were in this port from the 26th of February to the 9th of March, getting ready everything necessary for a march inland, as well arms as provisions. The port was in 45°. Here, in this port, the Captain Simon de Alcazaba had himself sworn in as Governor, according to the royal decree which he brought. He declared that this was the centre of his command. He appointed his captains, ensigns, and chiefs of squadrons as follows.

Rodrigo Martinez, a native of Cuellar, who commanded 42 lancers.

Juan Arias, a native of Zamora, commander of 42 archers with one Yaraza of Colindres as his ensign, and two chiefs of squadrons named Chaos Navarro, and Ortiz of Medina de Pomar.

Gaspar de Sotelo, a native of Medina del Campo, had 42 lancers, with one Ruison as his ensign and two chiefs of squadrons, a Portuguese named Nuño Alvarez and one Recio of Medina del Campo.

Gaspar de Aviles was a native of Alcaraz. He was captain of 33 arquebusiers and 10 archers. His ensign was one Mexia of Aviles, and his chiefs of squadrons a Florentine named Micer Luis, and Ochoa, a Biscayan.

The Governor had twenty men armed with lances and shields as his bodyguard, and to keep watch over his tent.

We began our march from the said port on Tuesday the 9th of March. The Governor gave each man a knapsack containing 15 lbs. of bread without any other provisions, to carry on his back, besides his arms. He required the men to march not less than four leagues daily over mountains without roads. We set out from the Port of Lions in the following order. First marched the arquebusiers, next the archers, then the lancers, then the Governor with his twenty men. He was accompanied by Alonso Rodriguez, pilot of one of the ships, with his compass,

astrolabe, and chart. The direction was N.W. turning sometimes to north, but always keeping a N.W. course. In this way we marched for 12 leagues from the ships into the interior. Then the Captain and Rodrigo Martinez could not go any further, one owing to his age[1], and the other owing to being taken ill. They resolved to return to the ships with all the men who were disabled from weakness or lameness. Their number was 30 men. When he returned the Governor appointed as his Lieutenant one Rodrigo de Isla Montañez, a native of Escalona. Rodrigo Martinez was succeeded in his captaincy by Juan de Mori, a servant of the Governor.

In this way we resumed the march leaving the Governor, with the others, to return to the ships. When we were 15 leagues from the ships, we entered upon a desert and uninhabited country where we found neither roots nor herbs which we could use for food, nor fuel to make a fire, nor water to drink. Only at the end of two days without water, it pleased God that we should find a pool of rain water, which was sufficient to let us drink and fill our bottles. It seemed as if our Lord had given it to us miraculously, for, loaded as we were with arms, half of us must have perished if our thirst had not been quenched.

Two days afterwards we must have marched 10 or 12 leagues over a very bad road. We came to some very deep ravines in which we found a little water. The people were again in sore need, and were refreshed. A league further on we came to a very wide and deep river[2]. Here there was a hut consisting of a circle of fire wood, and here we found six native women, three of them with child, and a very old man. As we knew not their language we could not learn anything from them, except that they were living

[1] Alcazaba was not only old, but also extremely corpulent.

[2] The river Chupat.

like savages. The life they led was by the river, where they gathered the seeds of a herb in Spain called *wild beet* which they toasted by a fire and ground between two stones, eating the flour. Their husbands had a tame sheep like those they have in Peru. They had it for a lure to entice other animals, and kill them with their arrows. The husbands of the women fled, and we could not overtake them. The river was so deep that we could not ford it. The Lieutenant of the Governor and other captains determined to make a canoe of willow wands which we found on the river bank, fastened with cords. By two and two the whole party crossed, with the women, and the sheep, carrying a weight of quite four *arrobas*. At this time, out of four parts of our people, three parts had no bread at all, and maintained themselves on the roots of a mountain thistle which above ground had thorns sharper than awls, and under ground had heads like turnips, very sustaining as food. It was not because the Indians ate them that we did, for we knew not what they were, but one day a Christian pulled one up for fun, to try it, and found it good. We then began to feed on these roots, and if it had not been for them we should have suffered much.

After 8 or 10 more leagues of road worse than the first, over which we marched, eating roots because we had no bread, we came to another river[1] with beautiful banks, which passed between two well-wooded hills[2], with tall willows. The water of this river was the finest and most sustaining that our men saw, for though we drank it fasting, it never did harm to anyone, nor reminded us of wine. At this river we found an old woman, two girls, and two men who fled with their seeds. The girls taught us to gather roots under the ground, the size of melons and the smell of green

[1] Perhaps the Rio Valencia in about 40 S.
[2] The heights of Balchitas.

almonds, very hard to eat. With these and some remains of bread the people were kept alive with much difficulty, and some succeeded in killing fish in the river, like barbels, with hooks they had brought. Those who had fish-hooks fared well, and the rest kept themselves alive with difficulty, living on herbs and roots of a kind of celery of which there was much on the river banks. Among the native women we captured at this river, there was one very old who, by signs with her fingers, told us there was much gold five days' journey further on, which they had put in their ears, noses, and hair, like some doubloons which we showed them. We followed, keeping our old woman as a guide, for ten days, and each day we found the land worse, without a sign of people, the river becoming narrower and smaller, the mountains higher and reaching to the sky. Each day the old woman made the same sign, while our people became more and more exhausted owing to having had no bread for so long, living only on herbs and roots. Those who had fish-hooks to catch fish fared better, and if all had brought the tackle for catching such large and excellent fish as abounded in the river, there would have been enough for all. I saw fish of 10 and 12 lbs. taken.

As the pilot said that we had marched little short of 100 leagues the Lieutenant of the Governor and the captains held counsel together. They agreed that in 100 leagues of marching they had not found habitable land or any sign of it, nor road nor path. They did not understand the old woman, whether she said 5 or 50 days' journey, for from the first day she had shown five fingers and we had followed her for 30 leagues. They, therefore, resolved to return to the ships, it being 22 days since we left them. We began the return march on Easter day 1535.

On the third day from commencing our return journey, one night in the valley of the river, two captains, Arias and Sotelo, mutinied, marching with armed men to the tent of

the Lieutenant of the Governor and the servants of Simon de Alcazaba. They seized an *arroba* of bread which they had, and some raisins and sugar. That night Juan Arias wanted to kill the Lieutenant of the Governor and all his servants, and it would have been done if it had not been for the Captain Sotelo who prevented it, saying that they had sent a message to the Governor, so that, if we did this, we could not return to the ships, since they would not receive us. Finally they kept the Governor's friends as prisoners, ordering that no one should depart on pain of death, and all were to be in their tents in the morning.

The day before this happened the Captain Arias had sent on his two chiefs of squadrons, with certain archers and arquebusiers, to go back to the ships. The messenger who had gone before was overtaken and detained. The day after the arrest of the Lieutenant of the Governor, the captain departed with 15 arquebusiers, and in the afternoon of the same day the Captain Arias ordered the camp to move. So all, having nothing to eat, set out for the ships, in hopes of getting some food.

Some, however, stayed by the river to fish, others strayed over the hills to find thistle roots, but at last we came to the first river which we had crossed on a raft. Captain Juan Arias came, with the Lieutenant of the Governor and his servants, and he ordered that, on pain of death, they should come as prisoners as far as a watering-place a league from the ship, and that no one should go further until another day was passed. All those we found there went on, and some who had remained behind also passed on as we came without any order, for there was no one to guide us, or show us the road. We went on seeking for herbs and roots to eat, and great numbers of us were lost, dying of hunger on the road. When we arrived at the ships, four or six together, some came in 15 days, others in less according to the strength they had left. We found many skins of dead sheep.

The chiefs of squadrons of Captain Juan Arias, and those who went with them, arrived at the ships one night. One of their company swam off, and got the boat without being observed. They thus got on board the *capitana* and seized the Governor who was in his bed. The pilot was also in bed. They stabbed them and threw their bodies overboard. They also stabbed a boy who attended on the Governor. He died the next day. Having got possession of the ship, they went to the other ship, and seized the Captain Rodrigo Martinez, even wanting to kill him. The Captain Sotelo, with those who were with him, took possession. After three or four days the Captain Juan Arias arrived, and did much robbery in the ships. He distributed all the boxes of the Governor among his followers, as well as the property of the Lieutenant of the Governor and the Pilot. There began to be discord between the two captains. Juan Arias said that the other should go in the smaller vessel, and Sotelo refused, saying that he arrived first. The two mutineers then agreed to be together in the larger ship, and they took all the artillery that was in the smaller one. There was then a consultation among the leaders. Sotelo proposed to go to the river Plate to wait upon Don Pedro, and that we should join company with him. Captain Juan Arias said that he only wished to fit out and supply the *capitana*, then to go to sea and rob all the vessels they met, not only Castilian, but also Portuguese and Genoese, especially ships coming from India. Then he would go to the Levant or to France and, having collected all the boldest and most desperate characters. he would cruise with them. Sotelo was of a contrary opinion, wishing to go to the river Plate and join Don Pedro de Mendoza[1] with all our people. This being the case, Arias plotted to kill

[1] The expedition of Don Pedro de Mendoza was sent out to take possession of the country round the Rio de la Plata, with 14 ships, 2500 men, and 72 horses. Don Pedro founded Buenos Ayres in 1535.

Sotelo and his friends. We were taken from the large to the small ship with four or five barrels of bread, and told we could go to Spain or where we liked. But some of us felt sure that this was only to deceive us, and that some night before they departed, they intended to bore our ship with one or two holes so as to sink her, and leave us forlorn.

God, however, brought succour in another way. One morning, at break of day, the master of the *capitana* named Juan de Echaruaga, his mate Martin de Loriaga, the carpenter Sancho de Aroya, the purser Martin de Garay and three or four sailors, all armed, surprised the Captain Juan Arias and the other mutineers in their beds. They secured Juan Arias, Ortiz, Chaos and Ruison and put them in the hold while they got the fetters ready. They also captured one Falcon de Lebrixa, and a servant of Pavon de Xeres. Other mutineers named Anton de Baena a native of Trebuxena, Diego Ximenez, Anton Martinez, and Alejo Garcia Herrera were put on shore. As soon as the culprits were secured, the master and his colleagues appointed one Ochoa de Menaza to be Alguazil, to execute justice on them. They raised their banners on the two ships, declaring that they took charge of all the property to give an account to the Emperor, that he might grant it to whom he chose and to whom by right it belonged.

After three or four days the Alguazil come to the small ship, where Captain Sotelo was a prisoner, and the Master and his colleagues elected Juan de Mori, formerly the Governor's servant, to be captain, Rodrigo de Isla to be master, one Escovedo to be Alguazil, and a brother of the captain to be purser.

Before the imprisonment of thē mutineers stragglers arrived from the interior, some on the 16th of April, others on the 18th and 20th. The last reached the shore on the 30th of the said month.

Account was taken of those who went inland and returned. It was found that, what with lost and dead, not more than fifty returned to the ships. Others died of hunger, and were lost, having no guide. Besides these, 20 died on board the ships; so that the loss amounted to 80, either from deaths on board and on shore, and those murdered or executed after sentence. We who survived, owed it to two or three circumstances. One was that the land was very cold, like Flanders. Another was that, although we came back very thin and weak, we found bread to eat, for they gave us four ounces of bread with a *cuartillo* of wine. Now and then we also got some small fish they had killed, or some shell fish, and thus the survivors were preserved. They even gave the passengers three ounces of bread, in spite of the small quantity that was on board. But the three ounces appeared to us to be only two, made up with other trifles of meat or fish.

The Master and Alguazil, with their colleagues, appointed Captain Juan de Mori to be tutor of the son of the Governor, named Don Fernando de Alcazaba. With his consent criminal charges were brought against the Captains Juan Arias and Sotelo, and their accomplices, who were tried, sentenced, and executed. The two captains were declared to be traitors and put to death. Chaos and Ortiz, chiefs of squadrons, Pedro de Yaraza and Diego de Ruison were strangled, and sent to the bottom with weighted ropes round their necks. Benito Falcon de Lebrixa and Juan Gallego, servant of Pavon, were hanged at the yard-arm. The Alguazil named Alejo Garcia, whom the two captains had appointed, was sentenced to be banished on shore for ten years. Then they proceeded against the absent, being those who had fled.

The said captains, past and present, gave as the ration

for the passengers four ounces of bread daily with a *cuartillo* of wine, with nothing else whatever. They sent to the islands, two or three leagues from us, to kill seals and sea lions. They brought back 200 or 300 carcases, of which they made seven or eight barrels of salt meat for the voyage. They were killed by blows on the head or snout with clubs, for in no other way was it possible to take their lives. Many times they were run through with swords and lances without effect. The livers of these seals are so poisonous that they give fevers and headaches to every one who eats them, and presently all the hairs on their bodies fall off, and some die.

It happened that a rumour was spread one night, declaring that some of the crew did not wish to obey the Captain Juan de Mori nor his brother the purser. Owing to this affair some of the crew were made prisoners, among whom were the Captain Rodrigo Martinez, and Alonso Mostrenco, Hernan Perez, and two other Portuguese. Some of the prisoners were sentenced to the torture of water and jug[1]. This was inflicted on the Portuguese.

We were staying for a long time in this place, and the supplies were diminishing. They reduced the ration of bread and wine, only giving two ounces of bread to each passenger, and three of seal meat to each sailor daily. The allowance of wine was so reduced that only a small cup was served out, with which God sustained us absolutely, and not with the ration they gave us. Until to-day, the feast of San Bernabe, no more lost comrades have turned up, may God preserve them.

On the 13th of June, seeing the small amount of bread that was left, they ceased to serve it out, and gave us nothing

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[1] "Agua e polla"; perhaps "polla" is for "ampulla" a phial: the torture of dropping water.

for a ration, except 1 lb. of seal flesh daily, between three men, and a cup of wine so small that it would take three to make a *cuartillo.*

On the 17th of the same month, being Wednesday at noon, we made sail from this Port of Lions and stood outside, where we anchored for the rest of the day. On the same day the Master of the *capitana* and his colleagues sentenced the Captain Rodrigo Martinez, the Portuguese Nuño Alvarez, and Alejo Garcia to be left on shore in the Port of Lions for ten years, or if God did not find a rescue for them, for their lives, which was likely by reason of the evil land where there is nothing to eat, and therefore uninhabitable.

On the same day we again made sail God willing, and for the next two days the food we were given as a daily ration amounted to 2 lbs. of sea lion meat boiled, between five men, a little wine, and no bread except to the sailors, who got 2 oz.

On the 21st of the said month, the *capitana* named the *Madre de Dios* parted company with a light and fair wind, but she was not in sight nor did we know with what intention she had gone. She had on board all the arms and clothing.

On Monday the 21st, during all day and night, we had squalls of thunder and lightning with hail, the night being fearful. We threw the bodies of two men into the sea, who had died of hunger and thirst. Owing to this the captain ordered, from that time forward, one ounce of bread to be served out to each man.

On Thursday the 1st we encountered a terrible storm, and if it had struck us astern, we must have been lost. We went under bare poles for two days, during which time no fire could be lighted in the ship, the sailors not eating more than two ounces of bread, and the passengers one ounce, with one *cuartillo* and a half of wine.

On the 11th of July, being under sail on our voyage, and having little food left, they only gave us each one ounce of bread and two of meat a day. Seeing this all the passengers agreed together, and drew up a requisition to the captain, witnessed by a scrivener, that he should land in Brazil and fill up with provisions, and that he should take us thence to Spain. Only for making this request the captain arrested us, and put seven of us in prison, below the deck, where we could see neither sun nor light of any kind. The prisoners were Captain Gaspar de Aviles, Simon de Moruguilla, Hernan Perez, Diego Aleman, Juan Sanchez, and Saravia[1], only these because the prison would not hold more. So the principal requisitionists, Alonso Mostrenco, Juan de Torres, Carmona, Santa Cruz, and Romero were put in irons. More were not so treated, because there was no more room, and so they were kept confined for a fortnight.

At length we sighted land in a Brazilian port called Tenereques, and on the 28th of July we arrived in another port called Todos Santos. In this port there is a Christian named Diego Alvarez who had lived there for 26 years, married, with a wife and children. With him there were six or seven other Christians who had escaped from a caravel which was wrecked two or three months ago. Of these four came with us. Being desirous to land, we came[2]

. . . . .

days that we were on shore, Diego Alvarez told us that we should keep guard as the natives intended to attack us. This they did in a narrow pass, robbing us and leaving us naked, in which condition we returned on board.

After two days Diego Alvarez pacified the natives, and we went on shore again to obtain provisions. We remained

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[1] And Alonso himself, which makes seven.

[2] Blank in MS.

until the 7th of August and purchased what we needed. Being at anchor, three or four days before we were to sail, the boat of the large ship, our consort, arrived with 20 men, the ship having been lost on the shoals of Tenereques. The natives attacked the shipwrecked crew, killing some, while others fled and hid themselves on shore. Out of a crew of 110 persons not more than these 20 escaped Among them were the mate, the carpenter, the purser, and a nephew of the master. The ship was valued at 10,000 ducats. We made sail on that day, Sunday the 8th of August, being All Saints.

On Monday the 9th of August, the captain, with his alguazil, took from those of us who had anything to eat which we had procured in Brazil, the half of all we possessed. One man among us had sold his clothes for food. Others bought, from a Portuguese, Bohemian knives at two reals, worth ten for three, to repay at San Domingo, giving pledges. Those who took away our food did not give us ship's rations in return, but a *cuartillo* of water and a cassava root boiled in salt water. Others got six ounces of flour for three men.

On the 14th a man named Cordero, a native of Lebrija, died of hunger and thirst.

On the 26th of August the ration was fixed for the whole crew. They gave us daily a *cuartillo* and a half of water between four, and six ounces of flour, without salt or anything else whatever. On Thursday the 2nd of September we sighted an island, called Graciosa, which is in 13° off San Domingo. At midnight on Friday the 3rd of September we came to an island called Barbosa, 25 leagues from the other. On Saturday the 4th of September they surveyed the remaining stock of provisions, and that day they served out three ounces of flour to the sailors, and two to the passengers.

On the 11th of September we arrived at the island of San Domingo with much travail, and for that day, in the said ship, there was nothing to eat.

Of all which, I Alonso the Overseer, scrivener to His Majesty, give my faith that it is the truth, for I saw it with my eyes, and I testify to it by signing my name

ALONSO (VEEDOR).

EXPEDITION

SENT BY

THE BISHOP OF PLASENCIA

UNDER

THE COMMAND

OF

DON ALONSO DE CAMARGO

TO

OPEN A ROUTE FROM SPAIN, BY THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN, TO THE WEST COAST OF

SOUTH AMERICA

1539—1541

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE EXPEDITION OF THE BISHOP OF PLASENCIA

1539—1541

A FAR more sensible reason for undertaking a voyage to the Pacific through the Strait of Magellan than the enforcing of a claim to the Spice Islands, was the opening up of a communication by sea, with the ports of Peru and Chile. This was the opinion of the good Viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza. By his advice his brother-in-law, Dr Don Gutierrez Carbajal, the Bishop of Plasencia, equipped a fleet of three small vessels with this object. The command was given, by the Bishop, to his relation Don Alonso de Camargo, and the expedition sailed from Spain in August 1539.

Camargo lost his own ship, the *capitana*, at the entrance of the first narrow in the Strait of Magellan. The second ship was separated from the others, wintered in a port of Tierra del Fuego, and returned to Spain in 1541. An important fragment of the log of the captain of the second ship has been preserved. Camargo continued the voyage through the strait in the third ship. When Pedro de Valdivia was prosecuting his conquest of Chile he was astonished to hear that a strange vessel was on the coast, coming from the south. Camargo touched at Valparaiso and eventually reached Callao in a very pitiful condition. He was the first navigator to arrive on the west coast of South America by

way of Magellan's Strait. But no account of the voyage has been preserved. Camargo himself settled in the city of Chuquisaca, and mixed himself up in the feuds of the conquerors of Peru. He was put to death, with eight others, by cruel old Carbajal, the lieutenant of Gonzalo Pizarro. The mainmast of Camargo's ship was long preserved at Callao, as a memorial of the first voyage to that port by way of the Strait of Magellan.

We know neither the name of the second ship of the Bishop of Plasencia's fleet, nor the name of the captain. But a very important fragment of the journal of the second ship has been preserved. It was in the collection of Muñoz, and was printed by Torres de Mendoza and afterwards in the *Anuario Hidrográfico de Chile* for 1879 (pp. 450—457). Its importance consists in the fact that the ship appears to have been the first to visit Staten Island, and to enter the Strait of Le Maire, and that she wintered in the Beagle Channel. The master appears to have been an intelligent observer and a competent seaman. He probably discovered the Strait of Le Maire, but Schouten still deserves all the credit of having discovered it to be an important strait.

A translation of the fragment of the Journal follows :—

ACCOUNT OF THE NAVIGATION OF THE STRAIT OF MAGELLAN

VOYAGE of the ship belonging to the fleet of the Bishop of Placencia that returned to Spain.

In the first place I took the sun in the month of November 1539[1]. I took it on the 11th of the said month in 4°[2], and here we were out of sight of land, with soundings in 35 fathoms, bottom loose stones.

On the 14th I took the sun in 34° 40′, with soundings in 32 fathoms, bottom small shells, no land in sight.

On the 15th I took the sun in 36° 20′, and we sounded in 45 fathoms. No land in sight.

On the 16th we sounded in 50 fathoms without seeing land.

On the 17th I took the sun in 37° 10′, and sounded in 25 fathoms, clean bottom. Here we fished and caught many fish.

On the 18th we found a depth of 60 fathoms, clear sand. No land.

On the 19th I took the sun in 38° nearly, and sounded in 50 fathoms. Again we fished successfully. No land.

On the 20th I took the sun in 39°.

On the 22nd I took the sun in 42° 15′, sounded in 40 fathoms, without seeing land.

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[1] The three vessels sailed in August 1539.

[2] A misprint. It should be 34.

On the 23rd we found bottom in 17 and 20 fathoms, without seeing land. The sun was not taken. In this part we made many *balsas de curiola*, and there were many birds, gulls and albatrosses.

On the 26th I took the sun in 42° 45′, and we sounded, without seeing land.

On the 27th I took the sun in 43° 40′, but we did not sound nor see land.

On the 28th I took the sun in 44° 30′, and sounded in 50 fathoms. Here we caught many fish.

I.

Month of January. Year 1540.

On the 1st of January we sounded in 60 fathoms, without seeing land. The sun not taken.

On the 2nd I took the sun in 46°, but no land in sight. Sounded in 26 fathoms, rocky with sea weed.

On the 3rd I took the sun in 46° 30′, and sighted land at the mouth of the river Canano, which is a large bay, and from W.N.W. to North there is high land. From S.W. to South the land is low like an island running eight leagues out to sea to a cape, also like islets, the cape being east and west. On the east side six or seven rocks appeared, white as lime. We sounded in 48 fathoms, rock and stone.

On the 4th I took the sun in 47° 40′, in sight of land.

On the 5th I took the sun in 49° out of sight of land, and sounded in 60 fathoms.

On the 8th I took the sun in 49° 15′, in sight of land, and sounded in 40 fathoms, clean sand.

On the 9th I took the sun in 50°, in sight of land.

On the 10th I took the sun in 50° 15′, in sight of land, with many white rocks, and we saw many columns of smoke.

On the 12th I took the sun in 51° 6′, in sight of a point

of land running two leagues out to sea, with many white rocks[1]. In the afternoon, at some distance from the land, we sounded over a shoal extending S.E. and E.S.E. from the point two leagues, in six or seven fathoms, and to the west is the entrance to the Santa Cruz river running N.W. and S.E. We sailed along the coast, running north and south, to the Cape of Virgins.

We anchored near the Cape of Virgins which is in 52°. From the cape we saw the entrance to the Strait of Magellan, and here is an anchorage which it is well to know. The cape is fringed with white rocks, and a low point runs to the south for a league, with a beach of sand. We sounded a league from the land and found 18 fathoms, black sand, where we anchored. During the night there was a gale from the land, which drove us out to sea.

On the 15th I took the sun in 51° 20′, 40 leagues from the land.

On the 16th I took the sun in 51°, being 60 leagues from the land.

On the 19th I took the sun in 51° 30′, being 10 leagues from the land, and we sounded in 40 fathoms, black sand.

On the 20th I took the sun in sight of land, a league outside the point of land at Cape Virgins, in 52° 30′. We sounded in 20 fathoms, rock with sea weed.

II.

In the name of Jesus, Entrance of the Strait.

On the 20th of January we began to enter the strait and at a league and a half within it we sounded on a bank of 89 fathoms, sea weed like beans. We steered to N.W. and came to a depth of 20 to 25 fathoms, black sand, where we were in advance of the point coming out from Cape

[1] Entrance to river Gallego.

Virgins. We saw a very high cross on shore, and within sight of this cross there is an anchorage which continues for two leagues. Here we saw a point of land beyond which the coast runs W.N.W. for about six leagues. Beyond that we came to a strait only three quarters of a league in width for two leagues N.W. and S.E. Here there is a strong current.

On the 22nd, an hour before daylight, the *capitana* was wrecked at the mouth of the strait[1]. The crew were saved[2].

On the 27th I turned back to the mouth of the strait and, when two leagues from the mouth, I encountered such a gale that I was driven back as far as the Cape of Virgins.

On the 29th I turned with the intention of joining the Captain General and the others. As the wind was contrary, and it then fell calm, I anchored.

On the 31st, before daylight, it came on to blow so hard from the S.S.E. that there was a cross sea. The cable parted and I made sail. At daylight we found ourselves so near the land that we were on the point of cutting away the masts, when it pleased God to send fair weather.

On the 4th of February, in the morning, we sighted land which appeared to be the eight or nine islands on the chart, and we were between two lands. We had land to N.N.E. on our port side, and there was also land to the south. It appeared to me and to all the others that we should be amongst those islands, while according to the chart there were channels between them through which we could pass, and all clear without shoals. At noon we observed a great bay[3] with lofty mountains, at a distance like islands. We then went on the other tack to see if we

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[1] The N.E. end of the first narrow.

[2] The Captain General, Alonso de Camargo, was taken on board the third ship, with his crew.

[3] Bay of San Sebastian.

could double the land we saw to the N.W. We worked all the day until nightfall without being able to get round it. When night came on we stood to the south to see if we could pass on another course. In the night such a wind sprang up that we could show no sail. Next day, in the afternoon, we saw a point of land, and as it seemed that if we could double it there would be no more to the south, we got round it with much trouble. From the point several shoals run out to sea, and we were very near them. After we had doubled that point to the south, we sighted other land to the S.E. Between that land we saw a great bay, with high mountains on either side which yet appeared like islands, because great arms of the sea intervened between one mountain and another.

On this day, in the afternoon, the master thought he saw a channel opening to the south[1] through which we might go. Until that day we had seen all the land closed up. We thought it well to anchor that night by some beach[2]. As we had no anchor we came to with six *berzos*. Afterwards we made sail, standing off and on until we found ourselves embayed, with land to the south.

This range of mountains runs east and west, taking a turn E. by S. and W. by N. In it there are many streams and branches of the sea coming from the north, and entering far into the land[3]. We never could succeed in entering any of these deep bays because the wind was always blowing from the mountains. Thus we were cruising about outside until we found, towards the N.E., a small inlet which only penetrated about a quarter of a league inland. We ran for this refuge. When we were near the entrance, trusting that God would perform miracles for us, we cut away the main-mast and ran in under the foresail, until we came to the

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[1] Strait of Le Maire. [2] On the north coast of Staten Island.

[3] These deep inlets are described by Lieut. Kendal, R.N., who surveyed Staten Island. See *Voyage of the Chanticleer*.

cape at the entrance, where there was little depth, with clean sand The sea being smooth the ship passed in without accident, and was secured with hawsers and cables.

We were there eight days, but on the 11th it blew so hard that the hawsers on one side were carried away, so we went further up the inlet. This port, in which we were enclosed, received from us the name of the "Harbour of Foxes," as there were many foxes on shore[1].

This land appears to be a part of the mainland to the south of Magellan's Strait. This seems to be so because the land from this point runs to the west, and is parallel with the strait[2]. We found at the point of this land many stretches of shrubs and trees which had been burnt, and all the wood that comes out of the strait is washed up here. For at the place where we were, a board of the ship *capitana*, which was wrecked in the strait, was floated here, as well as other things. This land is bare, without trees, windy and very cold. It snows in several months of the year, the winds blowing from S.W. and West, and very seldom from any other quarter. In all this land there are many ducks, as well from shore as from the sea. There are also seals with skins 36 feet long. Within the land there is much cedar wood. Round this coast there are many small islands, a fact which it is well to know. The land where we lost the *berzos* was an island; and in the bay where we are, there are many small islands and rocks, and many arms of the sea extending far inland. Here the summer only lasts for four months, January, February, March and April. In May the rigours of winter commence, and it snows frequently until December. In this land there is much game, consisting of ducks, foxes and seals. We were here for six months.

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[1] The writer in the *Anuario Hidrografico de Chile* suggests that the little vessel had gone up the Beagle Channel.

[2] These data show that the position was on the south side of Tierra del Fuego.

We then took in wood and water, and prepared our ship for the return voyage to Spain.

We left this port of the Foxes on the 24th of November with a N.E. wind and fine weather. We discovered a gulf, and the wind became so strong from N. and N.E. that we were unable to work to windward, and were forced to put into a bay to the south, whither the sailors had been to fish during the winter. Here there was a good port, and we went into it. We found it landlocked with 10 or 12 fathoms of depth. Afterwards, on St Andrew's Day, there was such a gale from N.W. and W. that we were in great danger. This port was formed by an island surrounded by two arms of the sea. There was plenty of game, but no foxes, which shows that the former port, from which we had come, was on the mainland. On a cape of this island much wood was found, including a part of a plank which must have come from the strait, where the *capitana* was wrecked. This port is landlocked, and suited for any ship to winter in. There is a good supply of wood and water, and good shelter from all winds, with a means of departure by the west, and thence all the coast within sight to the westward may be reached. Between this island of the landlocked harbour and the mouth of the strait, there is a gulf[1] extending for eight or nine leagues. We were eight or nine days in this harbour, on the return voyage to Spain.

We departed from this harbour on the 3rd of December 1540, with fine weather and wind from S. and S.W. sailing large until we had passed the island where we lost the *berzos*. Then the wind veered to the S.W. before which we ran for two days, seeking the mainland to the north. On the 5th I took the sun in 49° 6′[2].

On the 11th we ran, for a long time, to the S.E. and

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[1] The strait of Le Maire.

[2] 360 miles north of Staten Island.

S.S.E. and came to the mouth of the river Canano. The following night the wind veered to S. and next day we doubled the cape. Then we suffered from bad weather for eight days.

On the 30th of December we came to the island of Cristobal Angues, which is at the mouth of the river Plate in 35° 30′.

Year 1541.

On the 1st of January I took the sun in 35°, and on the 6th I took it in 34°. Here it seems to me that the water flows with great force from the river Plate. We were in the currents, with calm weather, until the 10th, without making any headway.

On the 11th of December I took the sun in 34°, and next day in 31°, and next day in 28°.

VOYAGE

OF THE

CAPTAINS BARTOLOMÈ

AND

GONZALO NODAL

TO THE

STRAIT OF LE MAIRE, CAPE HORN

AND

MAGELLAN'S STRAIT

1618—1619

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

VOYAGE OF THE NODALS

THE town of Pontevedra, in Galicia, has been a nursery of distinguished seamen—"The seed-plot of illustrious sailors," as one of its historians called it. The western coast of Galicia mainly consists of the three deep bays of Arosa, Pontevedra, and Vigo, with the little port of Bayona and the mouth of the Miño further south. These great bays were the nursing homes of seamen from the earliest times. A ship of the Galician fleet, under Pazo Gomez Charino, disputes with Laredo in Asturias the honour of having broken the chain across the Guadalquivir, at the taking of Seville in 1248. Such traditions were an incitement to the sailors of Galicia to emulate the deeds of their ancestors. Pontevedra was one of the centres of these aspirations. The old town is well placed on the river Lerez, only a few miles from the sea. The surrounding country is well cultivated, its hills well wooded, while its more distant mountains attain, in the Faro de Avion, a height of over 3500 feet. Here Pedro de Sarmiento y Gamboa, the famous navigator and historian of the Incas, first saw the light; and here were born the two sailor brothers Bartolomè and Gonzalo Nodal. Their early home was in a street called Las Corbaceiras, in the ward called La Moureira, in the town of Pontevedra. They were both baptized in the beautiful old church of Santa Maria la

Mayor or "de los Pescadores," an edifice in the late ogival style of the 15th century, and called by Ferreiro "La perla del arte Gallego"—the pearl of Galician art. There were four years between the two brothers, the elder, Bartolomé, having been baptized in 1574 and the younger in 1578. But they both went to sea at the same time, as volunteers, in 1590, aged respectively 12 and 16. Their long and honourable careers in the navy are recorded in the following notices which appeared in the same volume as the narrative of their voyage of discovery.

The Nodals' home in La Moureira is said to have been uninjured until 1719, when it was burnt by the English.

Services of Captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal.

The two brothers Nodal began to serve His Majesty in the year 1590. They were natives of the town of Pontevedra. The Captain Bartolomè de Nodal embarked in the royal fleet of the ocean sea, at the age of 16, as an adventurer without pay. The fleet was under the command of Don Alonso Bazan, as Captain General. He served on the occasions which offered themselves, doing his duty as a valiant soldier. He was with the General Sancho Pardo Osorio who went to join Don Juan de Aguila in Brittany with his regiment of infantry, and returned in company with three galeasses under the command of Don Bernardino de Avellaneda, Count of Castrillo[1]. They encountered a storm on the coast of Galicia and took refuge in Santander.

Young Nodal next joined the fleet at Ferrol, which had

[1] He was created Count of Castrillo by Philip III, and held some important posts including the presidency of the "Casa de Contratacion" and the viceroyalty of Navarre. He came of ancestors who fought at Najera and Aljubarrota, and bore the same arms, with a difference, as the Haros Lords of Biscay.

arrived from Terceira after the surrender of the English Admiral[1]. He sailed to watch the coast, in a squadron under Don Fernando Gallinato consisting of three ships and the despatch boat *Bayona*. In the port of Muxia they captured a merchantman from the enemy and, boarding from his ship, Bartolomè Nodal was among the first who jumped on board.

His meritorious services, and the consideration that he had spent his own property during four years that he had been without pay, obliged the Adelantado Mayor of Castile to take notice of him, and to give orders for him to join the ship *Santa Maria la Blanca*, with his brother Gonzalo de Nodal, and to proceed to the island of Terceira with despatches. He performed this voyage without loss of time.

Returning to Lisbon, Don Alonso de Velasco, in whose charge was the inspectorship general of that place, ordered him to sail with the wardrobe of the Adelantado. It was the depth of winter, and such a furious storm arose off the Berlings, that the sails were blown away, the vessel was almost swamped, and she received much damage. The gale continued for eight days, and at last they got into the port of Llanes on the coast of the Asturias. Some small vessels, at some risk, gave their assistance, and the ship was brought in, much damaged and without sails. She was refitted there, and then proceeded to Ferrol, where Nodal gave a good account of the service with which he had been entrusted.

The General Pedro de Zubiaur next appointed the young officer to serve near his person, owing to the satisfaction his services had given. Soon afterwards the Adelantado ordered Captain Martin de Guristiola to proceed to the English Channel with the ships *Santa*

[1] If this was Grenville the date was 10 Sept. 1591.

Maria and *Trinidad.* Always seeking for opportunities to distinguish himself Bartolomè de Nodal volunteered for this service.

Off the Scilly Islands they met with a ship of the Dutch enemies, and, fighting with her, she was boarded from the *Santa Maria la Blanca*, Nodal being the first to reach the enemy's deck. Seeing this, Captain Guristiola gave the young officer command of the prize, and as chief of the sailors and soldiers on board, he took her to Ferrol, where the Adelantado then was. That officer rewarded Nodal with prize money, and ordered him to proceed to Bayona[1] in the *Santa Maria.* The Admiral Mutio, who was in that port with a squadron of store ships, had orders to supply the fleet, which was in need of provisions.

Nodal returned to Ferrol, where the Adelantado gave him his promotion as Captain of the *Urca de Griso.* In her he took part in the Falmouth action, and afterwards went to the Azores with Don Diego Brochero, where they suffered terrible shipwrecks, with dreadful storms and disasters.

The Marquis of Caracena[2], who governed Galicia, next ordered Captain Nodal to proceed with two ships of war, as an escort for six vessels which had arrived from Brazil laden with sugar. He put them in safety in the port of Viana[3]. Returning from Bayona he fought with an enemy's ship which surrendered. Meeting with a great ship of the English, and a caravel, off Cape Finisterre, he fought them until, the night coming on with a change of wind, they escaped.

In the resistance of the Catholics of Ireland to the Queen of England, Nodal came to receive orders from the

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[1] Between Vigo and the mouth of the Miño.

[2] Don Juan de Sandoval created Marquis of Caracena by Philip III on 15 Feb. 1606.

[3] In Portugal at the mouth of the Lima.

Marquis who, finding that the Irish were much in want of munitions and money, sent the young captain a second time with despatches of his Majesty, arms, powder, munitions and 2000 ducats to the Lord of Veraven, head of the league in that province. Finding 24 English ships in the port, which fought to take it, the captain managed so well that he delivered the succour he brought with him. This enabled the Irish to resist their enemies. He navigated his ship back to Spain, leaving the Irish full of admiration at his skill.

The General Zubiaur did not forget to arrange for Captain Nodal to come with him, and, finding him at Coruña, he obtained leave from the Marquis to take him in his flag-ship. He anchored in Bayona, and sighting two ships at sea he ordered Nodal to go on board the *Perro Cazador* and to proceed to an encounter, with one other ship of the fleet. They got very close, but the wind freshened with such force that the fore-yard was sprung. Being thus disabled, the enemies were able to escape.

Afterwards Zubiaur sailed from Lisbon with orders from Don Diego Brochero to cruise with his squadron as far as Cape St Vincent. In this cruise he took an English ship, and as Captain Nodal had distinguished himself in the capture, the General gave him command, which was confirmed by Don Diego Brochero, who made him captain of the same ship.

The main body of the fleet made sail to receive the galleons laden with treasure. In the middle of the night, after leaving the bar of Lisbon, the flag-ship sighted a vessel, and Don Diego ordered Captain Nodal to reconnoitre her in a small boat with oars. It was a calm and serene night; and when the captain saw that the vessel was an English man of war, he boarded her and fought until he had cut to pieces nearly all the gunners and musketeers who fired from below. The captain with the rest held out

on the poop, while the boat was disabled with the continual battering, which increased the temerity of the action. The Captain animated the few wounded men to resist, and dashed onwards to the assault clearing the way with sword and shield, to enable his men to follow. This they did, renewing the fight until the English surrendered, being hindered from attempting flight as they wished. But the weight of the water in the boat sent her to the bottom with conquerors and conquered.

Few Spanish survivors remained available, all being wounded. Captain Nodal had three wounds, one of them in the right eye, of which he lost the sight. The fire from guns and muskets and the flames were seen, and the discharges of the artillery were heard from the fleet, but the calm retarded the despatch of help. At dawn boats were sent and, the admirable though costly victory being understood, the conquerors were rescued, and the prisoners taken and distributed among the ships.

When King Philip III was informed of this action by Don Diego Brochero, he presented Captain Nodal with the ship he had captured.

The command of the fleet was given to Don Luis Faxardo[1], and by his order Captain Nodal went to Seville, where he drew upon the galleons in charge of Don Luis de Silva for ropes and cables, by reason of the failure of the supply in Lisbon. Nodal was then appointed to the command of the ship called *The Golden Fleur de Lys*, and cruised with the rest of the fleet along the coast and to the Azores, escorting the galleon *Jesus Maria y José*. His Majesty gave orders for the ship to go to the Indies. The

[1] Of a noble family of Murcia. Don Pedro Faxardo, Lord of Molina, had an only child Luisa who married Don Juan Chacon. Their son took the name of Faxardo and was created Marques de los Velez in 1505, and Captain General of Murcia. The second Marquis was Don Luis Faxardo. His second son Luis was the officer mentioned in the text.

cruise thus ended, the Duke of Medina, in Andalusia, ordered the fleet to return. Don Luis Faxardo went on board his flag-ship for the enterprise of Salinas de Araya and the Windward Isles. There they destroyed or captured 19 ships, punishing such enemies as fell into their power, and clearing the coasts of pirates.

Don Luis Faxardo ordered Captain Nodal to follow his son Don Juan, who left the port of Cumanagote, with four galleons, in search of other pirates. An English ship was captured, laden with merchandize. Captain Nodal, as commander of the sailors and soldiers, took charge and delivered her to the General.

Don Luis returned, and Nodal embarked with him in the flag-ship, cruising along the coast as far as Bayona in search of the Dutch fleet. Receiving news that the enemy had passed Cape St Vincent, they got further tidings at the castle of Sagres that the Dutch were eight leagues to leeward. Having overtaken them, the Spanish Admiral was in advance and very near the enemy, but lost his topmast. Then the galleon *Estefania* attacked the Dutch Admiral, whose mainmast fell with a great crash, the *capitana* of Vizcaya closing on her. The enemy then fled in desperation.

Don Luis Faxardo cruised along the coast as far as Coruña, taking Captain Nodal with him, by order of Don Juan Faxardo, and Don Luis Enriquez of the Council of War, Governor and Captain General of Galicia. The Captain was sent for carpenters and caulkers for refitting the fleet. Returning to Cadiz Don Luis Faxardo embarked, passed the strait of Gibraltar, and was off Oran[1]. They spoke an English ship which was trading in the

[1] Oran was taken by the Spaniards in 1519, led by the Regent Cardinal Cisneros, but they suffered a crushing defeat from the Moors 40 years afterwards.

river of Tremecen[1]. Don Luis then sent his son Don Juan accompanied by Captain Nodal, with a squadron of ships, cruising along the coast as far as Oran. They captured a Moorish vessel near the river of Risgol[2], laden with sacks of barley and carob pods. They found the English vessel, whose captain gave an account of the ships that were at Algiers and in the bay of La Goleta[3]. The captain returned to Oran with this prize. Don Luis took the English master and pilot on board his flag-ship, offering them quarter and liberty if he found their information to be true.

The fleet left Oran and sailed along the coast of Barbary, passing in sight of Algiers, without encountering ships of the enemy. Suddenly they were sighted in the bay of Tunis. The smaller vessels were ordered to go in and engage the pirates which were anchored under the shelter of the guns of the castle of La Goleta. For there was not sufficient water to enable the large galleons to come close in. They remained with the flag-ship, within range of the castle, firing upon it, the balls of the artillery reaching the walls, and the small vessels were supplied with instruments and artifices of fire.

Don Juan Faxardo, General of the Fleet, undertook to lead the attack on the pirate vessels, embarking in one of the shallops, which was followed by all the rest. The General was in the midst of the fire from the land. His orders were not to embarrass his men with spoils. They burnt 22 ships and a galeot, which was a most important service to His Majesty and a benefit to all Christendom.

While the fleet was still in that bay a French ship arrived laden with paper, coral, and other valuable things,

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[1] Tremecin or Telensin, a river and small territory between Melilla and Oran.

[2] Rashgul at the mouth of the Tafna.

[3] The castle at Tunis.

which was being sent as a prize to the castle of the Moors. She was taken from between four Turkish ships, the men reaching the land in a boat. The fleet made sail for Majorca, and wintered at Cartagena. Afterwards the ships were occupied in taking the Moriscos across, who were expelled from Spain. The ships laden with them sailed from the bay of Alicante, navigating in company by reason of the winter. They arrived at the point of Oran, where they wanted to disembark the Moriscos, but the force of the wind obliged them to put back to Cartagena. Only the captain landed those he had in his ship.

The fleet returned off Cape St Vincent to receive the treasure ships. Don Juan Faxardo, as Captain General, gave a commission to the captain of the galleon *San Andres*, with the same to those of three galleons forming the escort of ships coming from the Indies. Off Cape St Vincent a piratical ship of Rochelle was captured.

Don Juan received a report that the pirates occupied the bar of Lisbon. He appointed Captain Nodal to the command of three galleons, the *San Felipe*, *San Andres*, and *Santa Isabel* with orders to dislodge them from that position, and inflict punishment. Also they were to form an escort for the ships which were coming from the bay of All Saints, laden with spices and merchandize of the east, as well as other ships from Santo Tomè and the conquest of Brazil. Nodal encountered a pirate vessel near the rock and fought with her until she surrendered. Fourteen English and Flemings were taken, who confessed that they had come from Algiers.

Eight days afterwards he found the fleet, and put his ship in safety with it, off Lisbon.

Off Cape St Vincent they met a ship from the Indies and Don Juan ordered Captain Nodal, with two galleons, to convey her to the bar of San Lucar. He did so, and His Majesty then confirmed the special advantage granted

him by the Adelantado Mayor of Castile for having been the first who, fighting, entered an enemy's ship with his arms. This was that he should enjoy whatever prize pay there might be.

He was then captain of the galleon *San Andres*. Don Juan gave him a better command, that of the *San Juan Bautista*, in which he sailed with the fleet to cruize along the coast, and convoy the treasure ships of Peru and New Spain.

Returning to winter at Cadiz, he received orders from Don Luis Faxardo to proceed to San Lucar, and bring two German vessels which were pressed to serve with the fleet. Cruising along the coast the fleet, being becalmed, came in sight of a Turkish caravel in the neighbourhood of Cicimbra. Captain Nodal went away in a boat with four others and boarded the Turk. The crew made a desperate defence. They killed and wounded several of his men, but in the end the caravel was captured, with 44 Turkish prisoners.

The captain then went in a long-boat to Mamora[1], seeking for the port, in search of the Admiral Miguel de Vidazabal, for whom he brought despatches on His Majesty's service.

A second time he returned to reconnoitre that river and bar, to find out what ships there were in it, and whether the pirates who resorted there had built any fort or work to defend the entrance. The captain found another anchorage in the river, showing that it led to Laraish, but he let none of his men, not even the pilot, know his design, it being very desirable that it should be kept from the pirates, and from the Moors of Salee, a city distant five leagues from Mamora on the same Barbary coast. For it was important that no steps should be taken to fortify it,

[1] A port at the mouth of the river Subu, on the Atlantic sea-board of Morocco, between El Araish and Rabat.

or at least that the one party should not take to flight nor the other be able to help them.

With the report brought by Captain Nodal, the fleet left the bay of Cadiz to root out those pirates, effect a landing, and punish the insults of those who frequented it. The General gave Nodal the command of four boats that, with artifices of fire, he might enter and burn the ships in the port, and that others might follow on the same service. The fleet arrived at the mouth of the river, but not being able to cross the bar owing to the heavy sea which prevented it, Don Luis Faxardo resolved to disembark on the beach near Laraish. The Serjeant Major published the order, and Captain Nodal was the first to jump on shore, with a pike. He attacked some Moors who menaced him from a slope, with their cutlasses. The Spaniards landed and formed, with the vanguard under Nodal. Christoval Lechuga, Master of the Camp, on the second day, ordered him to take his men in a vessel towards Salee, to spike some guns which the pirates had planted in a convenient place for defending the mouth of the river. He spiked the pieces without the enemy being able to prevent it, which convinced them of the harm they might receive. Having occupied this most important position, Nodal sounded and reconnoitred the river for eight leagues. He had orders from the General to capture a boat which took numbers of the Moors across. They occupied the banks in great numbers, both cavalry and infantry. The captain succeeded by musket volleys in impeding the passage of the boat.

Don Luis, having sighted a ship out at sea, four or five leagues from the bar, he ordered Nodal to reconnoitre her ; but a gale began to blow with a very heavy sea, forcing the captain to return to Cadiz, where he made his report to Don Juan that his father remained at Mamora, and that there was a failure of provisions. Within two days eight store

ships made sail, loaded with food, and they arrived without accident, bringing a remedy for the needs of the garrison.

His Majesty ordered that the troops stationed at Mazagon should be sent as a reinforcement, and Captain Nodal went for them. Returning, he remained near the person of the General to carry out his orders, and without missing any occasion of accompanying the excursions made into the country[1].

The General gave him leave that he might represent his claims at court, but he did not take advantage of it because the fleet was going to sea. He went on board the flag-ship of Don Juan Faxardo, which was off Cape St Vincent, to convoy the treasure ships, and on returning he was at Seville seeing after the manufacture of cables and ropes for the ships.

His Majesty gave orders to increase his pay from 25 to 30 *escudos* a month, and besides other advantages he enjoyed, he further received 4 *escudos* specially, in addition to any other pay whatever. His Majesty said that he received this favour because he was the first to jump on shore with his arms, in the enterprise of Mamora. He returned to join the flag-ship again, which was cruising on the coast, to convoy the treasure ships. At Setubal there was an embargo on the ships, and soon afterwards there was a further embargo on caravels, by order of Don Fadrique de Toledo, Captain General of the fleet. Nodal joined the flag-ship again, when Don Fadrique, off Cape St Vincent, received instructions from His Majesty to give Captain Nodal orders to proceed to the court on business connected with the public service.

His Majesty had appointed him to the command of two caravels for the discovery of the new strait of San Vicente

[1] Don Luis Faxardo rooted out the nest of pirates at Mamora in 1614. It continued to be held by the Spaniards until 1681, when the Moors took it by assault. There are interesting ruins at Mamora.

and the reconnaissance of that of Magellan. Orders were given to begin the equipment at Lisbon until more money could be provided to complete it. There was assigned to him 120 ducats of pay each month. He fitted the vessels out in his own way, and made the famous voyage whose prosperous success is narrated in his book.

Services of Captain Gonzalo de Nodal.

His brother served on many occasions with Captain Bartolomè de Nodal, from the year 1590; it would therefore be unnecessary to repeat any services except those that he performed without Bartolomè, which were the following.

In the fleet of the ocean sea Gonzalo was in all the services which offered themselves, gaining the credit of being a seaman and a soldier. He was under the Captain Don Martin de Padilla, Adelantado Mayor of Castile. He continued to serve in several ships, winning opportunities of service by his diligence. Among other distinguished services in which he won renown, five very fortunate voyages deserve to be remembered, which he made during a critical time of the war with the northern provinces.

The Adelantado Mayor ordered him to proceed with his ship to the English Channel, where he encountered, in different parts, three of the enemy's ships of war. He sank one, and the other two surrendered to him, and were brought into Ferrol. From the prisoners the General got authentic information respecting the affairs of the English fleet.

He returned to the Channel a second time and boarded an English ship off the Lizard. He fought with another outside Plymouth Sound and sank her, while his boat picked up several prisoners who gave news of the enemy's fleet.

Off the Scilly Islands he attacked and took a ship of the Rochelle pirates, having killed the master and some gunners and soldiers who resisted. Passing the Lizard, where he

had taken a vessel before, he now captured a Dutch ship. Further up the Channel he took an English ship, both being men of war.

In his fourth voyage there surrendered to him, in the chops of the Channel, an enemy's ship, and a despatch boat with letters from the Queen of England to her fleet. The Adelantado placed a high value on this capture because it enabled him to understand the designs of the enemy, of which he informed His Majesty with the same letters.

Having sailed from Ferrol, where the royal fleet was at anchor, at dawn on the following day he found himself in the midst of the enemy's fleet, and recognised his danger. He pretended to belong to it, and dissembled by lowering his sails and dropping astern until he was to leeward of the enemy. But at sunrise two other English ships appeared, which had been detached to examine the Cape of Prioyro and castle of Hercules. He ran foul of one and, before she could recognize what had happened, he poured his men over the side, and she surrendered. The foremast of his ship was sprung by the strong north wind, and he was obliged to go with his prize to the other side of Sesarga[1], whence he sent the captured captain and pilot by land to Ferrol. This affair was remarkable as well for the stratagem he used, as for the audacity he displayed in attacking the enemy's ship in sight of their fleet, which was unable to prevent her capture.

He went with Don Diego Brochero in the ship which his brother Don Bartolomè de Nodal took when his own went to the bottom; and off Cape St Vincent a Dutch vessel of more than 600 tons surrendered to him, which was coming from Leghorn laden with merchandize.

He went to Terceira with despatches from His Majesty for the General Juan Gutierrez de Garibay, and the Master

[1] Islas Sisargas, west of Coruña.

of the Camp Antonio Centeno. He made another voyage to Terceira with the General Villaviciosa.

He came to this Court with the order of the Adelantado to build twelve ships, and he assisted at it until Estevan de Ibarra, the Secretary of the Council of War, ordered him to go to where the Adelantado then was, the occasion for his being at the Court having come to an end.

He went to Ireland with the General Zubiaur in his flag-ship. He enlisted 96 sailors in Galicia for the fleet, by order of the Marquis of Caracena. He went, by order of Don Luis Faxardo, in a boat from the Cape of Corrobedo to meet the new galleons which were built at Ribedeo, to tell them to return to Coruña, and took charge of them, owing to the news of the approach of the Dutch fleet. In Lisbon Don Diego Brochero ordered him to take the king's despatches for Don Luis Faxardo to Cape St Vincent, in a boat. He returned to take command of four caravels, to go in search of the fleet of the Indies, of the conquest of Brazil and of Santo Tomè. In this voyage he encountered 38 ships of the Dutch fleet, being informed by one of the enemy's caravels. Owing to the want he was in for provisions, the Admiral provided him with four more store ships, rejoicing at the care he had taken in a matter that signified so much.

He went to Terceira with a despatch of His Majesty for Don Luis Faxardo, by order of the Inspector General Juan de la Peña Zorrilla, and, having delivered it, he was ordered to join the flag-ship of the Indies with the Captain Mayor Blas Tellez de Meneses with 50 soldiers then stationed in the city of Lisbon. He superintended and built two caravels in Coruña. He returned the levy of sailors in the kingdom by order of Don Luis Enriquez.

For these and other services, and being indisposed, His Majesty favoured him with employment under the crown, near the person of Don Rodrigo Pacheco, Marquis of

Cerralvo, Governor of Galicia, where he continued his services in affairs of importance.

For the voyage to the straits His Majesty ordered him to come to the Court with the title of Captain of one of the two caravels and 60 ducats a month as pay.

Although they took a learned cosmographer and selected pilots for this expedition, the brothers had such a good knowledge of things appertaining to navigation by reason of their long experience that they drew the map and description of the discovery with their own hands in colours, and both brothers wrote the narrative of the voyage of discovery to the Strait of San Vicente and reconnaissance of that of Magellan, and of the things they saw and found.

The motive of the despatch of the Nodals on a voyage of discovery to the coast of Tierra del Fuego was the news that a Dutch expedition had discovered a way to the Pacific to the south of the Strait of Magellan. Old Isaac Le Maire of Egmont formed a company with the object of finding this way to the South Sea. A vessel of 220 tons, named the *Eendracht*, was fitted out, under the command of Willem Cornelisz Schouten, of Hoorn, with Le Maire's son Jacob as principal merchant. They sailed from the Texel on June 14th, 1615, and in January 1616 Schouten discovered the strait between Tierra del Fuego and an island which was named Staten Land. He thought it was part of the supposed Antarctic continent. On the 29th the most southern land was sighted and named Cape Hoorn. This Cape had previously been discovered by Sir Francis Drake, and named Cape Elizabeth. The *Eendracht* made the best of her way thence to Juan Fernandez. The new strait received the name of Le Maire. The narrative of the voyage of Schouten was published at Amsterdam in 1618[1],

[1] See *East and West Indian Mirror*, edited for the Hakluyt Society by J. A. J. de Villiers, 1906.

and as soon as the news reached the Spanish Government it was resolved to despatch an expedition for the purpose of examining into the truth of the statements in the Dutch publication, exploring the new strait if it existed, and surveying the Strait of Magellan.

The voyage of the Nodals was completely successful. They reached the new strait, examined its shores and anchorages, took many soundings, and carefully observed the phenomena of tides and currents. They also collected implements of the natives, skins of animals, and some botanical specimens. Their superiority to the Dutchmen as observers is very striking. Schouten's latitude of Cape Horn is over a hundred miles in error; while that of Nodal is only a few miles different from the result of modern surveys. Proceeding round Tierra del Fuego, the Nodals continued to observe the coast, and the currents, and discovered the island which was named Diego Ramirez, after their chief pilot[1]. They faced the tempestuous weather, keeping near the land until they reached the western entrance of Magellan's Strait. Later navigators did not venture to do this, but stood away far to the south, usually as far as 60° S., to avoid proximity to a dangerous coast with a foul wind. The Nodals passed through Magellan's Strait, making useful observations for the guidance of future navigators, and were thus the first to circumnavigate Tierra del Fuego. Some of the names they gave have been preserved on our charts, others have disappeared.

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[1] Francisco Seixas y Lovera (in his *Descripcion geographica y derrotero de la Region Austral Magallanica*, 1690) says that Diego Ramirez wrote a *Derrotero special* which was in the library of the Council of the Indies at Seville.

NAMES ON THE NODAL CHART

East Coast of Patagonia

Ancon de Sardines
C. de S. Elena
Rio de los Camarones
Serrayo
Puntas
C. de S. Jorge
Punta Gorda
Islas de los Leones
Isla de los Reyes
Ia de los Paxaros
Ia San Dionisio
Vigia
B. de San Julian
Cabo de las Barcas
R. de la Cruz
R. de Gallegos
C. de las Virgenes
Estrecho de Magellanes

East Coast of Tierra del Fuego

C. de Espiritu Santo
Punta de Arenas
Entrada de S. Sebastian[1]
C. de Penas
C. de S. Ines
Elualto
C. S. Diego, named in the text but omitted on the map, *name on modern charts*
Estrecho de S. Vicente (Strait of Le Maire)
C. de S. Vicente (*name retained*)
P. de Buen Suceso (*name retained*), Valentyn Bay of Dutch
Farillones (Barnevelt Isles of Dutch) 55° 49′ S., Dutch 57°
Montegordo
I. de S. Gonzalo
I. de S. Ildefonso (Cape Horn) Lat. 55° 58′ S., Dutch 57° 48′
C. de Udra, named in the text, but not on the map
I. de Diego Ramirez, Lat. 56° 26′ S. (*name retained*)

Staten Island

C. de Setabenco
C. de S. Bartolomè, S.E. point

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[1] Supposed to be a channel leading into Magellan's Strait, now known to be a deep bay.

RECONOCIMIENTO DELOS ESTRECHOS de Magallanes y San Vicente Mandado hazer por Su Mg.d en el Real Consejo de Indias partieron de Lisboa en 27. de Setiembre de 1618. y llegaron de buelta a San Lucar. a 9. de Iulio de 1619. Cabo de dos Canuelas. Bartolome garcia de nodal y Capitan Goncalo de nodal. Cosmographo Diego Ramires, piloto Iuan manço.

Echa por don Pedro teixeira, Ealbernas, Cosmographo de Su Mg.d

Los Coronados

En este paralelo de 45 grados es el dia artificial de 15 oras y 4. de quarto

R. de los Rabudos

R. Sinfonda

Aqui Se perdio diego Gallego

Bermeja

C. Corco

Angra Sinsahda

En esta paralelo de 51 grados es el dia artificial de 16. oras y 4. decimo octauo paralelo.

Cabo de las bermas.

R. de la Cruz.

R. de Gallegos.

C. de las Virgines.

E. de Magallanes.

C. del Espiritu Santo.

Primero Estrecho

Segundo Estrecho

Las Euangelistas.

C. de Sojada

Dos Apostolos

I.s de los pinguis

Punta de Arenas.

Entrada de S. Sebastian.

C. de Pennas.

C. de S. Ines

ISLA

En esta paralelo de 55 grados es el dia artificial de 17. oras decimo onzeno paralelo

I de Courbes sculpsit.

R. de los Camarones.

C. de S. Elena.

Aricon de Sarapuas.

Serrezuela

Puntas.

C. de S. Iorge

Punta Gorda

Ila de los Leones.

I.s de los Reies

I.s de los Pazaros.

I.s San Dio nizio

Vigia.

Bahia de San Iulian

MAR DEL SVR

DEL NORTE

ESTRECHO DE S.VICENTE.

C. de Seruonco.

C. de S. Bartolome.

Farillones.

Montegordo

I. de S. Gonsalo

I. de S. Alfonso.

C. de S. Ildefonso.

I. de diego Ramires

1 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40

The Nodal Chart in the edition of 1621.

Magellan's Strait

Los Apostolos
C. Deseado
Los Evangelistas
Fin de tercero estrecho
B. Hermasa
B. de los Cavalheros } S. side
I. Deves
R. de Coulos

B. de S. Joseph
B. de S. Nicolas
C. Fruart (Froward)
P. de S. Ysabel
B. Redonda
I. de los Pinguis
Segundo estrecho
Primero estrecho

West Coast of Patagonia

Ancon sin salida
Serrania
C. Corco
Aqui se perdio Diego Gallego

R. sin fondo
R. de los Rabudos
Los Coronados

Map from 45° *to* 57° *S.*

On the map in the first edition there are two ships off the west coast of Tierra del Fuego, four masts but square sails only on the fore, lateen sails on other.

Three compasses on 51°, two close to E. and W. sides the other on land N. of Santa Cruz, with rumb lines from them, and from four other points in 49° and 55°.

The Nodals, though they were provided with a cosmographer in the person of Diego Ramirez, after whom they named the island they discovered to the south of Cape Horn, drew their own chart and wrote their own narrative. They were diligent observers, and their voyage, though a very difficult and even perilous undertaking in those days was most efficiently conducted. They did not lose a single man either from illness or accident. The brothers never parted company even in the worst weather, and the two little caravels never lost sight of each other. The voyage deserves much more notice and credit than it has ever received.

The two brothers Nodal received commendation for their important services and, after a brief holiday at their home in Pontevedra, during which they prepared their narrative for publication[1], they sailed for the West Indies in command of royal ships. They were in the fleet of the Marquis of Cadreita which left Havanna for Spain in 1622. On the 5th of September a hurricane was encountered and both the brothers perished with their ships. One had reached his 48th, the other his 44th year.

These two naval officers did splendid service for their country in war, still more valuable service as surveyors and explorers. History has forgotten them. But the name of Nodal is still honoured and revered in their native town of Pontevedra[2].

THE SHIPS WHICH THE CAPTAINS NODAL ASSISTED IN CAPTURING, BURNING OR SINKING, DURING 30 YEARS THAT THEY SERVED HIS MAJESTY.

An enemy's ship in the port of Muxia in 1591, Don Alonso Bazan being Captain General.

Eleven enemy's ships, during five voyages, in 1597 in the time of Don Martin de Padilla, Adelantado Mayor of Castile, and Don Diego Brochero, in the English Channel.

Two ships off Bayona in 1601, by order of the Conde de Caracena, being Governor and Captain General of the kingdom of Galicia.

Three ships off the Capes of Espichel and St Vincent in 1602, in the time of Don Diego Brochero.

In the Salinas de Araya 19 ships burnt or surrendered in 1605, in the time of Don Luis Faxardo.

The Dutch Admiral's ship burnt in 1606, in the time of Don Luis Faxardo.

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[1] The first edition appeared in 1621.

[2] Señor Portela Perez, an author of Pontevedra, has published a book in honour of the Nodals.

Twenty-four ships and a galeot in 1609, in the river of Tremecen, and bay of La Goleta, in the time of Don Luis Faxardo.

A ship of the Rochelle pirates, off Cape St Vincent in 1611, Don Luis Faxardo being in command of the fleet. Another burnt off the Rock of Lisbon.

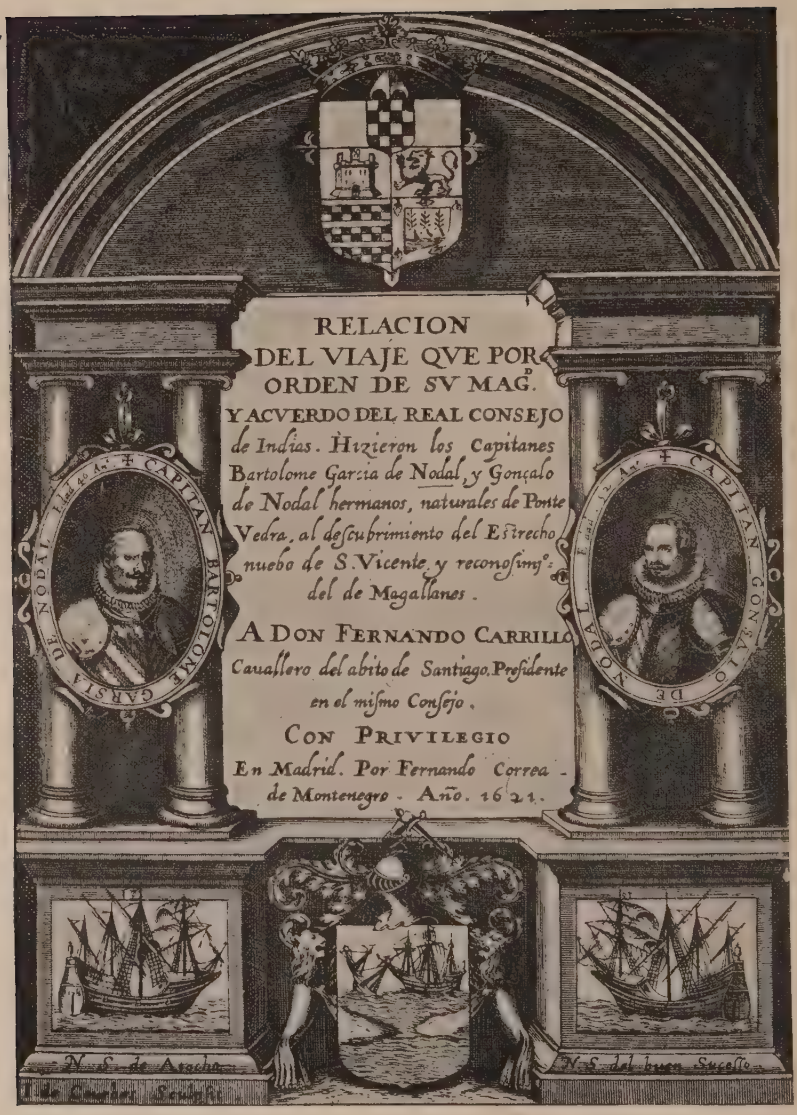
In 1614 off Cicimbra, a Turkish caravel taken.

Eleven ships at Mamora in 1614, with Don Luis Faxardo.

The total surrendered, burnt or sunk, 76.

THESE SERVICES WERE APPROVED IN ORDERS AND GRANTS OF HIS MAJESTY, AND IN PATENTS, DESPATCHES AND CERTIFICATES OF THESE GENERALS, ADMIRALS AND CAMP MASTERS.

Generals:	The Adelantado Mayor of Castile
	Don Diego Brochero
	The Conde de Caracena
	Don Luis Enriquez
	Don Luis Faxardo
	Don Juan Faxardo
	Juanes de Villaviciosa Lizarza
	Pedro de Zubiaur
	Juan Gutierrez de Garibay
	Osolivan Bear, Conde de Beraven
	Don Antonio de Atayde
	Don Antonio de Oquendo
Admirals:	Martin de Guristiola
	Juannes de Urdayre
	Juan Alvarez
	Diego de Santurce
Camp Masters:	Don Pedro Sarmiento
	Don Geronimo Augustin
	Christoval Lechuga


RELACION
DEL VIAJE QVE POR
ORDEN DE SV MAG.
Y ACVERDO DEL REAL CONSEJO
de Indias. Hizieron los Capitanes
Bartolome Garcia de Nodal, y Gonçalo
de Nodal hermanos, naturales de Ponte
Vedra, al descubrimiento del Estrecho
nuebo de S. Vicente y reconosimº.
del de Magallanes.
A DON FERNANDO CARRILLO
Cauallero del abito de Santiago. Presidente
en el mismo Consejo.
CON PRIVILEGIO
En Madrid. Por Fernando Correa
de Montenegro. Año. 1621.

Title page of the first edition.

[Translation.]

NARRATIVE

OF THE VOYAGE

WHICH BY ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY
AND ADVICE OF THE ROYAL COUNCIL OF THE INDIES

THE CAPTAINS

BARTOLOMÈ GARCIA DE NODAL

AND

GONZALO DE NODAL

BROTHERS AND NATIVES OF PONTEVEDRA

UNDERTOOK

FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE

NEW STRAIT OF SAN VICENTE

AND RECONNAISSANCE OF THAT OF MAGELLAN

DEDICATED TO

DON FERNANDO CARRILLO

KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF SANTIAGO
PRESIDENT OF THE SAME COUNCIL

WITH PRIVILEGE

IN MADRID BY FERNANDO
CORREA DE MONTENEGRO

AÑO

1621

RELACION
DEL VIAGE,

QUE POR ORDEN DE SU MAGESTAD, Y ACUERDO DE EL REAL CONSEJO DE INDIAS,

HICIERON LOS CAPITANES

BARTHOLOME GARCIA DE NODAL,

y Gonzalo de Nodal, Hermanos, naturales de Pontevedra,

AL DESCUBRIMIENTO

DEL ESTRECHO NUEVO DE SAN Vicente, que hoy es nombrado de Maire, y Reconocimiento del de Magallanes.

REIMPRESSO DE ORDEN

DEL Sr. D. JOACHIN MANUEL DE VILLENA y Guadalfaxara, Marquès del Real Theſoro, Cavallero del Orden de S. Juan, del Conſejo de S.M.Gefe de Eſquadra de la Real Armada, y Preſidente de la Real Audiencia, y Caſa de la Contratacion á las Indias:

EN UTILIDAD DEL HOSPICIO DE LA SANTA Charidad de la Ciudad de Cadiz.

LLEVA AñADIDO

LAS DERROTAS DE LA AMERICA OCCIDENtal de unos Puertos á otros, que diò á luz el Theniente de Navio de la Real Armada Don Manuél de Echavelar.

CON LICENCIA EN MADRID:

Y Reimpreſſo en Cadiz *por Don Manuèl Eſpinoſa de los Monteros*, Impreſſor de la Real Marina, Calle de S. Franciſco. Donde ſe hallarà.

Title page of the second edition.

[Translation.]

NARRATIVE

OF THE VOYAGE

WHICH BY ORDER OF HIS MAJESTY
AND ADVICE OF THE ROYAL COUNCIL OF THE INDIES

THE CAPTAINS

BARTOLOMÈ GARCIA DE NODAL

AND

GONZALO DE NODAL

BROTHERS AND NATIVES OF PONTEVEDRA

UNDERTOOK

FOR THE DISCOVERY OF THE

NEW STRAIT OF SAN VICENTE

(WHICH TO-DAY IS CALLED LE MAIRE[1])

AND RECONNAISSANCE OF THAT OF MAGELLAN

REPRINTED BY ORDER

of Señor Don Joachim Manuel de Villena y Guadalfaxara, Marquis of the Royal Treasure, Knight of the order of San Juan, Of the Council of His Majesty, Commodore of the Royal Fleet, President of the Royal Audience, and of the "Casa de Contratacion" of the Indies

FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE HOSPICE OF HOLY CHARITY
IN THE CITY OF CADIZ

WITH LICENCE IN MADRID

1766

and reprinted in Cadiz by Don Manuel Espinosa de los Monteros, Printer to the Royal Navy, Calle de San Francisco, where it will be found

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[1] Not in the first edition 1621.

DEDICATION[1]

TO

DON FERNANDO CARRILLO[2]

KNIGHT OF THE ORDER OF SANTIAGO
PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL COUNCIL OF THE INDIES

To whom is due the new discovery of the strait of St Vincent and the reconnaissance of that of Magellan if not to your lordship who, with so much care and persistence, procured that this long and distant voyage should be undertaken? It had become difficult owing to the number of years during which notice of the navigation had been lost. It pleased God that in your time another new way should be discovered, more easy and with less risk, than that which Fernando de Magellan discovered, to pass into the South Sea in a short time. With much labour in going and coming, including the detention in Brazil, we did not take more than 9 months and 12 days, having navigated 5000 leagues, and discovered new people who live without laws or policy, new marine monsters; we have given names to all the lands we saw, for greater facility of navigation for others, a thing which caused admiration in all who received notice of it. Those who navigate in those parts will now find it less difficult. We made a report of our voyage, being a daily journal with the winds, courses,

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[1] Not in the second edition.

[2] A younger son of the second Marquis de la Guarda; and descended from Pedro Muniz de Godoy, a noted warrior of the time of Enrique II and Juan I. He was Master of Calatrava, fought in the battle of Aljubarrota, and was killed in a skirmish with the Portuguese in the following year. He bore chequz or and azure, which the Carrillos bore as a scutcheon of pretence.

altitudes, and soundings taken with all possible care, not missing a day in taking the sun, soundings, bearings of land, currents, and other observations that appeared to be desirable, though until now we have not seen that this has been the custom of others. Such observations ought to be taken in all voyages, with the descriptions and itineraries. Pilots should be more careful in discharging their duties, and ships should not put into ports without necessity. Oblivion or forgetfulness should not have the effect of burying a science which is so essential. All this we offer to your lordship, as the result of our work, with the same will as we have done this service for the King our Lord. Even if you did not hold the office which you fill with such dignity, and had not been the originator of this voyage, we ought to do so by reason of the well-known antiquity and nobility of your house in Castille as well as in the city of Cordova which had for its son the great and renowned knight, from whom you descend, Don Pedro Muniz de Godoy, Master of Santiago, who did such good service to King Enrique II and to King Juan I; and of your own services to His Majesty, with benefit to the public, in the estates of Flanders, in the Council of Castille, and in the presidencies of finance and of the Indies; also for the virtues by which you are distinguished and for the recognized obligations which we owe to you. We beseech your lordship to receive our book under your protection, so that the defects it contains may be excused. Not the least defect is the unfinished style, being that of soldiers more accustomed to the use of arms and nautical instruments than of the pen. Hoping for the opportunity to do more service for His Majesty, and for your lordship in his royal name, May the Lord guard you for many years.

BARTOLOMÈ GARCIA DE NODAL.

GONZALO DE NODAL.

TO THE READER

Two things oblige one to read books, curious reader, with more force than many others, either utility or pleasure. The learned first seek the ornament of words to give beauty to their sentences, the end of rhetoric being to inculcate doctrine through eloquence. In the present book such great utility will be found as will excuse the artifices and colouring with which others have been written. We only pretend (as the title shows) to give a brief and daily narrative, being a true, clear, and distinct notice of our voyage, for the benefit of all, avoiding, when it is possible, self praise, a thing unworthy of generous minds and always reprehended by judicious persons. The happy success of this enterprise shows, by itself, what was the first cause of it, more than our care and good fortune. It was the zeal and desire to serve His Majesty, we will allow it to be told to us, who has a knowledge of the valour needed for such enterprises and the dangers they entail.

While serving in the royal fleet of the ocean sea the Captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal was summoned to Court by order of the Council, where he was appointed to take command of this enterprise, and having by the said Council been consulted respecting the second in command on board the other ship, it was agreed by the Council that it should be his brother Captain Gonzalo de Nodal, who was then employed at Coruña. The Marquess de Cerralvo was addressed with a request that he would give the necessary leave. Having come to this Court, the said Captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal was sent to Lisbon to fit out two caravels, Don Fernando Alvia de Castro,

Purveyor for the fleets of His Majesty, making the necessary provision. Finally two vessels, each of 80 tons, were got ready. They were provisioned for ten months, and were supplied with four pieces of artillery of 10 to 12 cwts., four *pedreros*[1], 30 muskets and arquebuses, 20 pikes, spears, powder and necessary munitions, with a crew of 40 men in each vessel, all Portuguese sailors. They were taken by force, because the destination was so remote and difficult to reach that, for want of confidence, no one would go willingly. For all this the said captains took greater precautions. For without taking soldiers discipline cannot be maintained. Without trusting to any one but themselves the captains undertook the voyage with zeal. Those who are moderately instructed in military affairs, know that the soldier who does not serve of his own will, but is taken by force, is not only of no use but does much harm. They were given ten payments in advance and it pleased God that in passing through such a diversity of weather, such various climates with changes and inclemency in their movements through various regions, now cold, now hot, now with excessive tempests, there was not a single death, and that the sick were restored to health.

They sailed from the city of Lisbon on the 27th of September 1618, the day on which the Church celebrated the glorious martyrdom of the two Spanish brothers Juan and Adulfo, natives of Cordova. On the return voyage they arrived at the bar of San Lucar on the 9th of July 1619. On the 7th of the same month they were off Cape St Vincent, where the Captain Gonzalo de Nodal landed to kiss the hand of His Majesty and give an account of the voyage, their Highnesses being then in the city of Lisbon. Having reached the Court, the captains received credit for the service they had performed, from Don Diego Brochero

[1] Small pieces of artillery, throwing stones or showers of bullets.

y Anaba, and Baylio de Lora, of the Councils of War and the Indies, who knowing how they had served before on several occasions, received satisfaction that they had completed this enterprise so happily.

They gave an account to the Council, and delivered up the skins of the sea lions which live in the seas of that climate, as will be seen in the course of the narrative, the arrows of the natives, the darts they use made of sea shells, stone knives, the sea birds, without feathers on their wings, called penguins: also the "pepper" they found in the middle of the Strait of Magellan, the trees having leaves like the *arbutus* of Spain[1].

Let then he who understands the difficulties and dangers of this voyage read, with confidence in the truth of the narrative, and with appreciation of our care, pardoning the defects of style, for in navigations and warlike operations some give the minds and others their pens.

Difficult science, dangerous experience, receive with a good grace, for without any trouble you enjoy much in reading of our labours during so long a voyage.

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[1] Perhaps *Myrtus nummularia* (*See Sarmiento* p. 317 *n.*) or an *empetrum*. Or it may have been *Drimys Winteri*, Winter's bark (*Sarmiento* p. 331 *n.*).

SAILING DIRECTIONS

NOTICE

HAVING seen and understood the circumstances and some of the difficulties of this voyage, it will be useful and convenient for His Majesty's service to give orders that fleets and galleons that have to navigate by these straits to pass into the South Sea, should leave Spain in the beginning of August at least, and before the 8th or even the 5th day if it be possible, by that means they will sail so as to be able to leave Rio de Janeiro by the middle of November. For so long a voyage cannot be undertaken without taking in wood and water, and refreshing the crew at that port, which is the most convenient and best of all those along the coast of Brazil. It is very far to pass on to the River Plate for those who come almost tired out by the calms and the bad weather on the coast of Guinea and the equinoctial line. Moreover the River Plate is a very low anchorage with little depth; and the port of Buenos Ayres is more than 50 leagues from the mouth of the river, and unsuited for large ships. On occasions, such as may arise from the loss of a mast or other part of the ship's furniture which cannot be remedied without going into a port suitable to supply the want, the River Plate is unsuitable, being in 35°, where the winds, being from S.E. or S.W. and S., are contrary for going to sea. Whereas at Rio de Janeiro, owing to the breezes that prevail at that time, a vessel can go to sea with ease, and stand out so as to double round the land, which protrudes for more than 30 or 40 leagues. The crews, when they arrive, are so fatigued

that they would pass onwards without refreshing, exposing themselves to much danger in going on to a colder climate, where the airs are healthier and fresher. We never had a sick man.

It is also advisable to start at this time because as the ships may be large, and one may be a sluggard causing delay to the rest of the convoy, it may be needful to start earlier. If this is not done there will be danger of losing the voyage, because the usual weather on the coast consists of winds from the S.W. and W.S.W., except in the summer, when they are more fair and not so strong nor of such long continuance, in comparison with those in the winter, which have no cessation. The voyage out is difficult, but in returning the wind is always aft, as we experienced in leaving Cape Virgins during this voyage.

The time in which we have made this voyage is very exact, neither too long nor too short, as we had vessels well suited for it. The one never had to wait for the other. They made such a pair when sailing that in all the rains and fogs we met with, they were never separated one from the other. It follows that with ships of that kind the quickest voyages can be made.

DAILY JOURNAL

OF THE EXAMINATION OF THE

NEW STRAIT OF SAN VICENTE AND OF THAT OF MAGELLAN

First Voyage.

At four in the afternoon of Thursday the 27th of September 1618 we sailed from the city of Lisbon, with two caravels[1], for the exploration of the strait now newly discovered, and for other duties in that of Fernando de Magellan. We began to steer S.W. with the wind N. and N.N.E.

On Friday the 28th of September, in the afternoon, we found that the main mast was sprung, from some rifts caused by the rolling of the ship. Nothing could be done that day because it was already late, so it was left until the next day, Saturday, meanwhile shortening sail.

At dawn on Saturday the 29th of September the mast was very well fished with spare spars, which had been taken in case of need. The altitude was taken in 35° 55′, course S.W., wind N. and N.N.E.

On Sunday the 30th of September the island of Puerto Santo was sighted at ten in the forenoon. Up to that time the course was S.W., and after passing the island of Madeira it was W.S.W. and S.W. until noon on Monday when the altitude was taken.

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[1] The *capitana* commanded by Bartolomè Nodal, and the *Almiranta* by his brother. Their names were *Nuestra Señora de Atocha*, and *Nuestra Señora del Buen Suceso*: as we gather from names under representations of them on the title page of the first edition.

October.

On Monday, the 1st of October, at noon, the altitude was taken in 31° 40′.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of October, the course was S., S.S.W., with wind N.N.E. The altitude was taken in 30° 40′.

Wednesday, the 3rd of October, we steered S. and S. by W. with the wind N.N.E. Took the altitude in 29°. Sighted the island of Palma. Two sail were in sight, one ahead, and the other astern. We put ourselves in readiness but followed on our way, without altering course.

Thursday the 4th of October we steered S. and S. by W. Took the altitude in 27°.

Friday, the 5th of October, course S. to S. by W. Took the altitude in 25° 15′.

Saturday the 6th of October, course S. with the same wind. Took the altitude in 22° 20′ W.

Sunday the 7th of October, course S. and S. by W. with the same wind. Took the altitude in 19° 40′.

Monday the 8th of October, course S. and S. by W. with the same wind. Took the altitude in 17°.

Tuesday the 9th of October, course S. and S. by W. Took the altitude in 16°.

Wednesday the 10th of October, course S. Took the altitude in 13° 40′. Cape Verde E. by N., Isle of Santiago E.N.E.

Thursday the 11th of October, course S. and S. by W. The altitude taken in 11° 30′.

Friday the 12th of October, course S.S.W. 25 leagues by dead reckoning. The altitude was not taken as there was no sun. One sail in sight.

Saturday the 13th of October, with the wind S.W., made 20 leagues by dead reckoning. Did not take the altitude as there was no sun.

Sunday the 14th of October, the course S. by W. made 15 leagues by dead reckoning. Took the altitude in 8° 48′.

Monday the 15th of October, wind light from S. and S. by W. No sun for taking the altitude. Made little headway.

Tuesday the 16th of October, wind W.S.W., took the altitude in 7° 30′.

Wednesday the 17th of October, took the altitude in 5° 55′.

Thursday the 18th of October, course S.S.W. No sun for taking the altitude.

Friday the 19th of October, took the altitude in 4° 40′.

Saturday the 20th of October, took the altitude in 3° 30′.

Sunday the 21st of October, took the altitude in 3° 6′.

Monday the 22nd of October, took the altitude in 3° less one sixth.

Tuesday the 23rd of October, made 20 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun for taking the altitude.

Wednesday the 24th of October. Cross sea all night. Fine weather and little wind from S.S.W. Took the altitude in 2° 20′.

Thursday the 25th of October, took the altitude in 2° less one sixth.

Friday the 26th of October, made 20 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun for taking the altitude.

Saturday the 27th of October, 25 leagues by dead reckoning, no sun.

Sunday the 28th of October, made 30 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun. A sail in sight. Altered course, taking her for a pirate. She was not in sight next morning because our ships fled under press of sail.

Monday the 29th of October, took the altitude in 13°, the declination being 13° 30′, which made us 30′ South of the line. By dead reckoning 40 leagues from Penedo de San Pedro.

Tuesday the 30th of October, course S.W. with the wind S.E., made 35 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

Wednesday the 31st of October, course S.W., took the altitude in 2° 50′.

November.

Thursday the 1st of November, course S.S.W., took the altitude in 4° 30′.

Friday the 2nd of November, course S.S.W., took the altitude in 6° 18′.

Saturday the 3rd of November, course S.S.W. with wind East. Took the altitude in 7° 45′.

Sunday the 4th of November, course S.S.W. with the same wind. Took the altitude in 9° 55′.

Monday the 5th of November, course S. by S.W., took the altitude in 12° 15′.

Tuesday the 6th of November, course S. by S.W. for 20 leagues and S.S.W. for 30 leagues, which makes 50 leagues. No sun. This day we sighted a very large comet[1] to the S.W.

Wednesday the 7th of November, course S.S.W., took the altitude in 16° 20′. Saw the comet again.

Thursday the 8th of November, course S.S.W. Took the altitude in 17° 40′. Saw the comet a third time, but not again.

Friday the 9th of November, made 15 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

Saturday the 10th of November, course S.W. and S.W. by W., with N.E. winds, made 15 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

Sunday the 11th of November, course S.W. and S.W. by W., made 15 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

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[1] I am informed by Mr A. R. Wesley that there can be no doubt that this comet was 1618 III. It was extremely bright, remaining so for seven weeks, and had a tail 164° long. The perihelion passage was on Nov. 8, the orbit being calculated by Bessel. It never appeared again, as the orbit was parabolic. It was the first comet observed telescopically.

Monday the 12th of November, course S.W., took the altitude in 21° 45′.

Tuesday the 13th of November, course W. by S., took the altitude in 22° 15′.

Wednesday the 14th of November, just before dawn, got soundings in 35 fathoms off *Cape St Thomas.* At daybreak we shaped a course S.W. by W. to see and reconnoitre the land, sighting some high mountains which are well known and the island of *Santa Ana.* In the range, rising from a valley, there is another high mountain called *El Frayle.* We steered S.W. a little to S. in search of *Cape Frio.*

Thursday the 15th of November we entered the harbour of *Rio Janeiro* to repair the mast on board the Admiral, which was sprung. Presently we anchored before night, and the Governor Ruy Vaz Pinto sent an Alcalde, and other persons with him, to know what ships we were. A reply was returned that we were ships of the King our Lord, and that in the morning an account would be given of our arrival.

The next day was Friday, the 16th of November. Captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal, commander of the caravels, went on shore to have an interview with the Governor. The Captain Gonzalo de Nodal remained on board, to take the ships further in with the tide, and to see that the crew did not desert. When the ships had taken up their berths, the Governor came on board, and put the crews in prison, to secure those who came by force. After the address which the Governor made to them, they came quite willingly, and the Captain Gonzalo de Nodal went with them, encouraging them and telling them not to be downhearted, as he would soon let them out again. He charged the Alcalde of the prison to treat them well, and not to put them in the calaboose. With that they were content.

After the ships were anchored, and account had been given to the Governor of the need for another mast, it was arranged that a mast should be taken from one of the merchant ships lying in the harbour; but though no time was lost, it was not found possible to arrange quickly with the owner.

Meanwhile the Flemish and Portuguese pilots came forward, and declared that under no circumstances could the caravels leave the port without having their freeboards raised. Although on our part the repairs might be begun, they made a point of it, and, assembling old experts in the house of the Governor, who also called in others, they discoursed over it. They all agreed that the vessels could not go to sea in their present state, having great openings and the decks being very low, as indeed was the case. Though the caravels may have been the best in the world when they sailed, they now had the decks much exposed. They had come in fine weather, but with any rolling the sea would easily find its way over the decks, and the crew would be much incommoded. For they had no chests nor change of clothes. The Governor counselled and persuaded us to make the repairs, to avoid danger and for the comfort of the crew, who were in a half mutinous state, as will be related further on.

This being settled, the time it would take to make the bulwarks was discussed. Some said two months, others said in one. The delay scandalized the captains. Although good planks could be obtained in the place, it was not so with the timber. We resolved that the Captain Gonzalo de Nodal should go with the carpenters and caulkers belonging to the ships, and two others from the shore, twenty of the crew, and nine negroes, in a canoe.

On the next day, which was Sunday, after hearing mass, they set out for the woods. If we could collect all the timber in one day we determined to do so, but if we

found difficulties we would leave it, and proceed to step the mast. With this determination we went to the "Vicario" for leave to work on feast days, which he presently gave on Saturday the 17th.

On Sunday the 18th Captain Gonzalo de Nodal started with his men, for a distance of a league or a league and a half to cut wood, and it was found so easily that all they wanted was cut in one day. On the same Sunday at night it was brought by the canoe and the two shallops laden with it, only twenty poles being left behind, which they went to seek for afterwards. On the following Monday the work was commenced, and it was done so quickly that it was all finished within ten days. Although the heat was great, not for that did they leave off working diligently. This was one of the smartest pieces of work that was done during the voyage.

On the previous Friday, the 16th, the Governor for the crown had considered the order of His Majesty of Portugal, in which he was required to take great care that no one belonging to the caravels was left behind. He told us that His Majesty had charged him with the care of the crews, but that the prison where they were confined was not safe. For that reason he wanted to put them below, under the iron gratings, that is to say in the calaboose. But in order that the men might not become more mutinous than they were already, and also owing to the need we had for their labour, we agreed to take them out of the prison and bring them on board, where we could take care that no one went on shore. With reference to the ships' requirements, one officer looked after watering, and others saw to the ballast.

On Wednesday, the 21st of November, Captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal went to the prison and said—"Brothers! the Governor has told me that he wishes to put you in the calaboose that you may be kept more

securely. I want above all things to maintain the honour of His Majesty and my own, and I do not wish that you should be badly treated, so come with me." They all said that they would not give trouble if they were taken to work. God was served that, at that time, so many sailors were found, who came to ask to be taken for whatever we liked to give them. These men said to those who had been brought by force that if they wanted to remain, they would go in their places on receiving some sea clothing and a little money. This was done in the case of a sailor in the Admiral's ship who, being sick, got another to take his place, and was allowed to remain behind. When the ships were ready for sea, there remained without leave, three from the Admiral's and one from the Captain's ship. With three of the Captain's ship who remained in prison, the number was seven. For the three of the Admiral's ship, a carpenter, a caulker and a boy were entered. For the four landed from the Captain's ship four very good sailors were entered from the merchant vessels of which 16 were in port, large and small. Besides these another sailor was entered on board the Captain's ship in place of a man who was very sick. In short we sailed with the same numbers as we left Lisbon with, and more contented. With those we left in prison and condemned to the galleys and those who deserted we were freed from the care and danger we had previously felt. This was particularly the case in the Captain's ship, for in the Admiral's the men never had an evil thought, all being contented, and doing nothing but dance and play at games to arouse laughter, passing jokes from one ship to the other. When there was time they were exercised with arms, taught to shoot, and to draw the cord, at which most of them became very expert. There was never any trouble among them, but always agreement. If any one did anything which was not right the master's mate generally dealt with the matter, and did not report it

to the Captain. The men were more afraid of being sent to the other ship than of being put in the bilboes. Though the Captains did not altogether trust the men, they did not let it be known, keeping the arms, with the powder horns, in their cabins, with the balls in a barrel, so as to be safe from fire. From thence the arms were served out when necessary, and collected again when the necessity had passed. When the time was convenient, the arquebuses were distributed and the men were reviewed, and exercised in drawing the cord, shooting, and at drills, so that most of them could shoot very well.

They were very well taught, and thus they were kept occupied, always being given something to do, that they might not be idle nor have time to indulge in evil thoughts.

On Saturday, the 24th of November, Martin de Sà[1] arrived from his estate. He was a Knight of the Order of Christ, son of the Marquis of Las Minas. He came in a canoe with other gentlemen who brought with them two Benedictine friars. The canoe had more than forty Indians with paddles, who made her fly, and she was so large that, besides the 40 Indians with paddles, she carried 12 or 15 persons, and could have taken more. She had a bronze figurehead. Arriving at the ships and having paid his visit, he offered service to His Majesty in money and with all that might be needed, for there we are ready to give all for the service of His Majesty. Besides all this Senhor de Sà delivered a very honourable address to the men, explaining to them that the enterprise on which they were engaged was one of great importance, and in conclusion expressing his confidence that deceit would not be found among Portuguese, but if one was caught on shore without leave from his captain, after the ships sailed, he would be

[1] Sà was the name of a noble Portuguese family in the days of King Manoel I. Their arms are painted on the roof of the Sala de Veado at Cintra *chequy azure and argent.*

hanged without confession, wherever he might be caught. By no means could such a man escape, for all knew that he was chief captain of that crowd, and that a search for the deserter would be made through all the land. The Senhor is a man of much substance, is much feared, and all treat him with respect.

On Sunday the 25th, at early dawn, we got together the men in whom the officers had confidence, and who had worked at the decks, to hear mass. The Governor invited us to dinner, and although we had a great deal to do, it was not possible to avoid accepting, because his house was so near the ships and so well in sight that we could not possibly leave the ship in a boat without his seeing us, and calling to the boat from his house. In the middle of dinner the boat put off with three boys in her, one of them landing with a bundle under his cloak. We told this to the Governor who presently sent a servant, who brought the boy with some stolen bacon. He confessed who had given it to him, and by whose order he took it.

After we had returned on board on the same day there was an investigation, and it was discovered that there was a plot to seize the Captain's ship. Four men were found guilty, and if it had not been for the son of Martin de Sà who begged that the ringleader, Marco Antonio, might not be condemned to death, all four would have been hanged. This man, Marco Antonio, who had been steward, was condemned to the galleys for eight years, two others for four years, and the fourth was let off because he was a good sailor and not so culpable. The culprits were delivered to the Governor, with a statement of their cases, that they might be sent as prisoners to Lisbon, to Don Fernando Alvia de Castro, Inspector General of His Majesty's fleet, for the depositions to be submitted to the Council of War of the Indies whence our despatch had been ordered.

On Thursday the 29th of November Martin de Sà sent medical comforts for the sick, consisting of a live calf, and two very large sugar loaves which weighed more than three Portuguese *arrobas*, as well as much fruit of the country, such as oranges, sweet limes, lemons, which are the best fruit there is, and a canoe full of fire-wood to be divided between the two ships. Being ready to depart, a sailor came on board to enter and, being from a ship belonging to Martin de Sà, he sent compliments with courtesy, saying that if the sailor was taken, leave having been given, he should order clothes to be served out for him; at the same time he caused them to be presented, thus animating us for the voyage. In this he showed himself a very good servant of His Majesty; and he asked for a certificate of that service which he had performed.

On Saturday the 1st of December our despatches to His Majesty were entrusted to Gaspar Masiel and Juan Albaris Madris, natives of Viana, each one in his ship, and they received payment for carrying them. They undertook to deliver them at Pontevedra, whence they were to be taken to the Licentiate Domingo Nuñez de Araujo, Governor of Bayona, who would convey them to the Court. There were others to be posted at Viana for Lisbon, addressed to Don Fernando Alvia de Castro, Storekeeper of the fleet of the ocean sea.

Another letter was delivered to the Governor of Rio de Janeiro for the Viceroy of Peru, and another for the Governor of Buenos Ayres, that it might be despatched to Lima, giving an account of our enterprise.

A particular account of what happened in the other days of this month is not given, for we were occupied with the work connected with the decks, and nothing occurred worthy of mention.

Letter for His Majesty.

"Sire

"Your Majesty has been informed of the day I left Lisbon, which was the 27th of September and God was served to give me such fine weather that I arrived in this port of Rio Janeiro on the 15th of November. The cause of my coming here was that the main mast of my brother's caravel was sprung so that I could not go on until it was first repaired. For the pilot I took with me reported that this could not be done so well in the river Plate, except at Buenos Ayres, which is more than fifty leagues from the mouth. After our arrival, we gave Ruy Vaz Pinto, the Governor of this city, to understand that we needed a new mast. He promptly arranged for one to be procured from one of the merchant ships in the harbour. Although there was much delay on the part of the master, the Governor treated him with much skill, had the mast valued, and we were furnished with it.

"Then the Flemish and Portuguese pilots came to say that by no means must we continue our voyage without strengthening the decks, saying that the seas further on were different from those of Spain, and seeking the opinions of other practical men. It was impossible to neglect this advice, and they did the work so quickly that it was all finished at the end of ten days. The other five or six days were occupied in getting water, ballast, and other necessary things on board.

"The ships were the most efficient that can be imagined, strong, and the sails so fitted that the spread of canvas was the same in both ships. I was well content and could find no fault except that the ships were flush and wanting in free-board, so that the sea was always washing over the deck even in fine weather. But the new bulwarks remedied this, so that we could pass through any sea. The pilots and

others were satisfied, the Governor having persuaded me to make these repairs which were considered necessary by practical men.

"Presently God was served by the discovery in my ship of a greater danger than any storms she encountered, as your Majesty will understand more fully by perusing the depositions which accompany this letter. I will not proceed against them further, for the greater part of the men were accomplices. I only brought to punishment those who were most culpable, and I can assure your Majesty that they are the most unruly people that can be found, being men who were taken by force. I trust in God that the punishment of the three who remain behind in prison will give security to the voyage.

"The Governor has shown himself very friendly in looking after my men, publishing notices, and threatening penalties for those who concealed sailors in their houses. Through his good diligence God was served that I had only two sailors missing. One of them jumped into the sea and swam away, and though the Governor used all possible diligence, they have not been able to find him.

"There have been some sick but up to this time, glory be to God, none have been in danger. I am very well contented with what I am told by the people on shore, that not an hour of time has been wasted, and we had reached the best season in the whole year. There are vessels here which have been waiting for a fair wind to take them to Buenos Ayres, and from now forwards such winds prevail. At the date of this letter I shall make sail, trusting in God to grant me success, and to enable me to carry out the orders of your Majesty. May God guard the catholic person of your Majesty, of which Christianity has need. Rio Janeiro the 1st of December 1618.

"Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal."

December.

On Saturday the 1st of December the ships left the port of San Sebastian del Rio Janeiro under sail, but the wind having veered to the S.W. they anchored again at a place called La Franquia. This wind continued until Wednesday the 5th.

On Thursday the 6th of December we stood out with a light land breeze. The Governor arrived in his boat, and remained with us until the ships left the port. We took leave of him with a salute from three pieces, to which the castle replied. At the mouth of the harbour the wind was S.E. until Friday when it changed to S.W. We made 24 leagues by dead reckoning, there being no sun.

On Sunday the 9th of December with the wind S.S.W. we made 15 leagues by dead reckoning and took the altitude in 25° 40′.

On Monday the 10th of December we made 6 leagues on S. by E. course. Then the wind shifted and we made 12 leagues S.W. by dead reckoning, there being no sun.

On Tuesday the 11th of December steering S.W. with the wind N.E. we made 36 leagues by dead reckoning, there being no sun.

On Wednesday the 12th of December there was a cross sea with the wind S.S.W., fell off to N.W., 8 leagues with the mizzen added.

On Thursday the 13th of December there was a cross sea again with the same wind, falling off to N.W. and making 7 leagues with the mizzens set. At 3 P.M. we made sail, shaping a course S.W. with the wind N.E. Took the altitude in 27° 40′ and corrected the course.

On Friday the 14th of December, course S.W. and S.W. by W. with a N.E. wind we made 30 leagues by dead reckoning, coming in sight of some high mountains. Began to steer S. by W. to keep clear of the coast.

On Saturday the 15th of December steering S. by W. with the wind N.E. made 50 leagues by dead reckoning. There was no sun.

On Sunday the 16th of December steering S.S.W. with the wind N.E. we made 24 leagues by dead reckoning. Took the altitude in 32° 50′. Corrected the course. At 8 A.M. there was a squall from the west with fearful thunder and lightnings. Some said they saw a bolt fall close to the ship.

On Monday the 17th of December steering S.S.W. with the wind N.E. took the altitude in 33° 45′.

On Tuesday the 18th of December steering S.W. with the same wind, took the altitude in 34° 55′.

On Wednesday the 19th of December the course was S.W. with the same north wind, and in the afternoon N.W. and W.N.W. Distance made 25 leagues by dead reckoning. There was no sun. We sounded in 22 fathoms. Late in the afternoon the Captain's ship carried away her main-yard, and it was God's miracle that three men were not lost, who were aloft and fell head foremost on to the broken part of the yard. During the night the wind changed to S.S.E. with fair weather. We shaped a S.W. course with the lead going, until we came to 14 fathoms, when we altered course to E.N.E. and afterwards the wind was variable.

On Thursday the 20th of December we steered S.W. with the lead in hand, until we found bottom in 25 fathoms. We took the altitude in 35° 40′. Later we got soundings in 35 fathoms and, though it was very clear, we could not see land. He who navigates this sea, after reaching 34°, should proceed with the lead always going, even though he has an offing of 30 leagues, for the mud from the river Plate extends far out to sea.

On Friday the 21st of December steering S.S.W. Took the altitude in 37° less 3 minutes.

On Saturday the 22nd of December, course S.W. with

a N.E. wind. Took the altitude in 37° 17′. As it fell calm we anchored in 95 fathoms.

On Sunday the 23rd of December, course S.S.W. with a N.E. wind. Took the altitude in 38°. Sounded in 60 fathoms.

On Monday the 24th of December we did not take the altitude as there was no sun. By dead reckoning 20 leagues made good. Bottom in 50 fathoms, fine sand. They fished from the ships and caught cod, *cazones*[1] and other fish.

On Tuesday the 25th of December it was Christmas day. Our course was S.W. with a north wind. We took the altitude in 39° 26′. Found bottom in 50 fathoms. There were quantities of fish and many whales.

On Wednesday the 26th of December the course was S.W. with the wind N.N.W. and N.W. We sounded in 50 fathoms, sand. There were not so many whales in sight.

On Thursday the 27th of December the course was S.W. with the same wind. Took the altitude in 41° 10′. Sounded in 45 fathoms. The sand was like that used in an hour glass; and we caught many fish.

On Friday the 28th of December, with fine weather, we shaped a S.W. course, but made little as regards distance. No sun. Soundings in 40 fathoms.

On Saturday the 29th of December the course was S.W. with wind N.E. We took the altitude in 42° 44′. The bottom in 40 fathoms. Sand.

On Sunday the 30th of December, with the wind S.W. by W., we made 30 leagues by dead reckoning, but there was no sun. On this day the wind shifted to S.W. The sea continued smooth, and they fished from the ships,

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[1] *Cazon* is a small fish belonging to the shark family. It is edible, which the large shark is not.

in 40 fathoms, and caught a number of very large fish, like those of Spain. There has been fish served out for eight days.

On Monday the 31st of December a cross sea, with wind S.W. and S.S.W., the wind blowing hard with a high sea. Fell off to N.N.W. for about 8 leagues. There was no sun, and we could not fish by reason of the weather.

January.

Tuesday was the 1st of January 1619. The weather was fine and we took the altitude in 43° 11′. They fished, catching many fish and *cazones*[1] during several days. Fine sand.

On Wednesday the 2nd of January the course was S.W. with the wind N.W. We made 20 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun. Soundings in 48 fathoms. In the afternoon we came in sight of land which, according to the latitude, was the Cape of Sardinas.

On Thursday the 3rd of January in a calm we took the altitude in 43° 50′. Soundings in 48 fathoms. The land, at Cape Sardinas, is flat, like that of Cape Despichel[2]. From this day forward we were coasting along the land.

On Friday the 4th of January we came in sight of Cape Santa Elena[3], projecting three or four leagues into the sea. We steered all this night until dawn on a southerly course, with fine weather and the wind N.E., being near the land and the cape projecting out to sea. In the middle of the night we sounded in 45 fathoms, stones. This Cape of Santa Elena is very low, and at a distance appears like islands. At noon, when beyond Cape Santa Elena, the altitude on the astrolabe was 22° 50′. We found the declination to be 22° 44′ which together make 45° 24′.

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[1] A small kind of shark.

[2] Cape Espichel on the south side of the entrance to the Tagus.

[3] On the coast of Patagonia.

On Saturday the 5th of January we came in sight of the Cape of San Jorge. That night we steered S. and S.S.W. with a land wind, holding on the same course next day until we sighted the said cape to the S.W. We took the altitude at noon, before reaching the cape, and found the degrees on the astrolabe 24°, the declination being 22° 38′, which together make 46° 38′. We continued along the coast sounding in 40 fathoms, fine black sand. After nearing the shore we altered course to S.E. until we had passed the cape which has two rocks off the end, higher than the mainland, which is very flat, like Cape St Vincent. Coming from the north the cape appears as if it was separated from the land; but it is really joined by a neck of land. We determined to enter an anchorage formed by the two rocks to the south. The current was so strong that, though we entered with a fresh breeze, it formed disturbed waters which have the appearance of breakers. All the coast is clear, having no breakers except one or two near the rocks, over which the sea washes. Some care must be taken with regard to the currents, which are very strong. Having passed the rocks, we continued along the coast very near to the land, with a fresh breeze from the N.E., steering south with a southerly current. Beyond these rocks ships cannot be lost if they put more out to sea for two or three leagues.

At night we arrived at the other cape where the coast runs north and south. It fell calm, with the current at 7, and bottom at 8 fathoms. Suddenly we heard a great noise coming with the current. We understood that it was the wind, which caused us some fright; being so near the land, at night, and with little depth of water. When the noise came, caused by the water flowing from the S.E., two currents met, and in a very short time we found ourselves in 20 fathoms. Then the wind changed to West and W.S.W. We were working south with little sail until

daylight. With the wind S.W. there was a cross sea, and we were 8 or 10 leagues out at sea; soundings in 40 fathoms.

On Sunday, January 6th, being the day of the Kings, at noon the altitude was taken in 47° 38′. At two in the afternoon the wind turned to north, and we shaped a westerly course towards the land. At sunset we were close inshore, and sighted a large island like the Berlings, which we named the Isle of the Kings[1], in honour of the day. Inshore of it there were two or three smaller islets. We determined to stand off and on during the night, that we might see the land well on the next day, being Monday, take the altitude and seek for a port. For it was late when we approached the land, and we could see no sign of a port, all the coast being straight. We stood out to sea, with small sail, until midnight, and when we went about to make the land again, the wind changed from N.W., with fine weather, until it came to S.W.

On Monday the 7th of January, we worked to windward until we were about 4 leagues S.W. of the island of the Kings, near a flat point like the cape of Santa Maria. Although all the coast is low, this was more so, with heaps of sand, and a short distance off the point there was a rock like one of the Berlings. Between this rock and the mainland there was another shoal with the sea washing over it. Sailing along the coast towards the Isle of the Kings, being a league and a half from it, we saw a great bay. We stood in to examine it, and sounded in 14 and 12 fathoms, clean bottom of black sand. We anchored and got out the boats. But as the large boat leaked a good deal, it was hoisted back on deck, repaired and well caulked. Meanwhile, so as not to lose time, the Captain Gonzalo de Nodal got into the small boat and went on shore to reconnoitre and see if the ship could be brought

[1] Near the entrance to Port Desire.

closer inshore. He kept on sounding, and took the astrolabe to take an observation at noon, which he did. They reached the shore, having sounded in 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, and 5 fathoms, all clean bottom of black sand. As the shape of the port will be shown on the chart that will be made, it is not given here.

The port is not bad, having sufficient depth and a clean bottom, but it has no resources, neither fuel nor water, which are the things required for the ships navigating this coast. Having neither wood nor water, however good it may be in other respects, it is worth nothing.

At noon we took the sun, and found on the astrolabe 25° 30′. On the almanac of Cespedes[1] declination 22° 23′, which makes 47° 53′.

In this bay there are two small islets. After having examined and sounded the port, we went on shore to see if we could find any fresh water. Not finding any we embarked and went to two or three small islets inshore of the larger one, to take the sun. We then saw, on the larger islet, a great number of sea lions. Jumping on land we found two, a male and a female. We approached them with two lances and an arquebus, and the Captain Nodal had a small axe in his hand. The male was asleep, and the female watching. As we came near she gave loud noises enough to cause fear. Feeling the lances the male turned towards the female, biting her, and because he had awoken or because he understood that the lances would injure them, they both, in our sight, plunged from a rock into the sea.

We passed on and found another male sea lion by its self, sleeping in the sun and quite careless of the approaching danger. We attacked it with the lances. One was in the hands of Diego Ramirez, and the other in those of the master at arms of the *capitana*. An artillery man, who

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[1] *Hidrographia nautica* por Andres Garcia de Cespedes.

was a Fleming, had the arquebus, and Captain Nodal held the small axe, about three feet long, in his hands. When the sea lion was wounded with the lances it rose on its feet higher than a man, uttering loud cries. Its size, strength and ferocity were fearful. It seized the lance head with its teeth and using the iron as a dart it gave the Captain Gonzalo de Nodal such a cut across the cheek that he could not eat nor heal his wound for more than a month. He was striking it on the head with the axe, and twice the sea lion tore the axe from his hands with its teeth. It was impossible to kill it, until the Fleming loaded the arquebus with two balls and shot it in the head. It then fell and we renewed our attack until at last we killed it, being all tired from the combat we had had with this sea lion.

The number of sea lions was so great on the larger islet that we did not venture to attack them. We remained where we were to take the sun, and afterwards, in walking over the islet, we came upon another sea lion asleep. Captain Nodal took the arquebus, loaded it with two balls and, hiding behind a rock, he shot it in the head. It shed much blood and plunged into the sea, with many cries and jumps. We let it go, remembering the danger we were in from the other, and the trouble it gave us. These animals are so strong that even with shots from an arquebus they are not easily killed unless they are hit in the head.

Having taken the sun, we prepared to return on board where they were looking out for us. We passed by the larger islet, and saw such a countless number of sea lions that we did not venture to land nor were they frightened at seeing us. There were also on this islet, on the higher part, such a number of sea birds that they quite covered it. Finding a place more clear of sea lions, three or four sailors jumped on shore, with their lances in their hands, to capture a number of birds. One sailor attacked one of these sea lions which was apart from the rest, with its female and

little ones as small as the young of large dogs. They remained there, fearing some injury. We caught the young one with some difficulty, for it defended itself. We collected our people with loud calls. They came with many birds which they had caught, and with the skin of the great lion we had killed. We returned on board the *capitana*, and when the captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal saw the immense size of the skin, and the young one we brought alive, and heard our story, as we could not start because it had fallen calm, and as the islet was very near, he ordered us to get our dinners quickly, and sent us away again in two boats, well supplied with arquebuses and other weapons. There were more than thirty men in the two boats.

We reached the land at about 3 in the afternoon when it was high tide. At 9 in the morning, when we were on shore the first time, it was low water. The times of the tides were observed, to see whether they agreed with those on the coast of Spain. We found that the conjunction of the moon, according to the reckonings which several almanacs teach us, was on the 16th of December. For greater clearness we give here the reckonings of the moon and of the tide. The year 1618 had 4 for the golden number[1]. Divided by 3 there is 1 over, and because there is 1 over, there will be as many for the epact. To know why the number is 4, taking 1500 away there remain 118, and taking from each 21, and leaving out 19, I make 100, 5 joined with the 18, which, with what is over the 20, I make 23, leaving out the 19. There remain 4, which is the number of the epact[2]. Joining this 4 with 10 of the month, which there is from the beginning of March to the month of December, and I make 14 for 30, they make 16, and such I say was the time of conjunction of the moon in the

[1] This is correct.

[2] This also is correct *new style*, which was adopted in Spain in 1582.

month of December 1618. In the almanacs of Cespedes[1] and Figueredo[2], the moon of this month is given on the 17th by general rules. When it is on the 17th I make the account of the tide that 17 from 31, the days in the month of December, there is left 14, and 7 for January, which we have on the day, make 21, taking away 15 there is left 7[3]. Multiply this 6 by 4 and I make 24, divide the 24 by 5, and the remainder is $4\frac{4}{5}$. Join these $4\frac{4}{5}$ to three hours which make the opposition, and there are $7\frac{4}{5}$ hours. At such a time I say there was high water on the coast of Spain. In accordance with this calculation, the high and low water in this bay is very different. For we found low water to be at 9 A.M. and high water at 3 P.M. What appeared to us to be most worthy of note was that the sea receded much more than in Spain, and also that it rose higher.

To return to what happened with the sea lions. After we arrived a second time with the boats, the multitude of these animals was so great, their ferocity, size, form, and colour so strange, and the noise they made so deafening owing to their numbers, that it gave rise to fear and horror. We jumped on shore with our weapons, and began a skirmish with them. If it had not been for the arquebuses it would not have been possible to land. It was wonderful to see their resolution in defence of their females and their young, the males always placing themselves in front, where there was the greatest danger. They had the females in such subjection, that if they showed a desire to go into the sea, they bit them and forced them to stay on shore. It was indeed astonishing to see how these animals defended their females and young ones. We also saw the females

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[1] *Hidrographia nautica* por Andres Garcia de Cespedes.

[2] Manuel de Figueredo was the "Cosmografo Mor" of Portugal. He wrote, besides his almanac *Derrotero de las costas del Brazil e de Guinea*, also *Examen de pilotos.*

[3] 6?

take their young in their mouths, and carry them close to the males, never parting from their males, so that they formed one body with the males, fighting fiercely when they wanted to get near them. Except with the arquebuses we could not do them any harm.

It is also to be noted that some of the young ones left their mothers, and came to where many of the males had been killed by the arquebuses and came between the men's legs who were spreading havoc, and the men struck them on their heads with an axe, and so killed them.

On this occasion they killed more than 100 sea lions with the arquebuses. Though they were hit two or three times they did not die, unless they received the shot on their heads. Some were seen with their eyes outside the arquebus balls, and with all that they were not yet killed. It was the most monstrous thing that could be seen. They brought on board five skins of adults, for it was too late to flay any more. Each boat took two or three young ones alive, but they made so much noise that the men killed them. Their cries were like those of goats.

The males of these animals were the size of bullocks. It took five or six men to turn them over so as to finish flaying them. Their colour was brown and black. The females bigger than large hounds and rather white, so that they appear like a flock of sheep at a distance. The hair is sharp and loose, on the head thicker, and longer than farther back. The whiskers, like those of lions, the hairs long like those of cats, a *palmo* in length. The eyes are large. The hands are like those of a turtle, and the feet like a duck's with bones like fingers, with long nails. The tail is short.

They are rather slow in their movements, but they go so fast down hill that they cannot be overtaken. In the sea they are as active as fish. If they were as active on land as they are fierce, they could do much harm and there is no

one who would dare to land on the islets. There are none on the mainland, which is a musket shot from the islets.

Before departing from this bay of the sea lions the question was discussed whether it would be better for the ships to stay there, or to proceed to reconnoitre the large island of the kings which was about a league and a half distant, to see whether the port de Sire[1] was to be found on the north side of it. For it was late when we were in that neighbourhood before, and we could not have settled the question without losing much time. But as we had much to discover further on, and the summer was advancing, we resolved to leave it, and to proceed on our voyage. We made sail at midnight, for it had been calm all day.

With the wind from the land, we were off the Cape of Santa Maria, three leagues from the bay of the sea lions. It has a rock awash off the point and a shoal near it. The wind changed to the N.E. and, sailing along the land, we passed this cape at a distance of a league a little more or less, and two or three anchorages in the form of bays, with small islands along the coast. The third bay had a width of a league or more. A rock, like those of the Berlings, with two other smaller ones near it, was sighted. We sounded where we were running down the coast and found 36 to 38 fathoms; the bottom within the bays probably clean, like that in the bay of sea lions. The coast N.E. and S.W.

In the afternoon, further to the S.W. two bays with two islands were discovered, the land very low, and to seaward of the S.W. bay there was a shoal awash. Before reaching the islands, a disturbance of the sea was observed, like breakers, some distance from the mainland, so that it appeared to be possible to pass inside. We could not decide whether they were shoals or currents of water, the

[1] Port Desire.

same as we had seen when we were off the island of the kings, where there is another disturbance of the sea caused by the current. The depth over this rough water was 8 or 9 fathoms, for we sounded to see what it was. We passed over it in the ships, sounding. So it is to be noticed by ships navigating this coast that they should sail with the lead in hand, being very careful by reason of the currents, which are very strong. We passed onwards to take advantage of the fine weather, and did not delay the voyage to examine these ports.

On Wednesday the 9th of January the wind was S.W. and W.S.W. with a cross sea. We took the altitude in 48° 42′ and sounded twice, in 48 and 50 fathoms, 6 to 8 leagues from the land.

Thursday the 10th of January, with the wind S.W., we made sail to examine the land, finding a coast without any indentations or beaches. So we stood out to sea, until the wind should change. The altitude was taken in 48° 20′. Soon after noon the wind changed to N.N.W. Proceeding on our course we came to a shoal awash, 5 leagues out at sea, a little more or less. It is a very dangerous shoal because it is under water, and in fine weather, with a smooth sea, it breaks, and the water washes over it. We sounded near the shoal and found 26 fathoms, stony ground. It will be in 48° 30′ reckoning from the position at noon, and the distance since made good[1].

On Friday the 11th of January, a little after noon, we arrived at the entrance of the bay of San Julian which we easily found. When we arrived the wind changed and blew so hard that we were obliged to stand out to sea, for it was too late to go nearer to the land. This is a better land to make than that which we had left behind, because it is higher. Coming from the north and seeking it from a

[1] 48° 50′ on the chart in the book, where it is called *Vigia*. Burney says that on later charts it is called *Baxos de Estevan* in 48° 39′.

distance, when three or four islets are in sight, it is no other than the bay of San Julian. For these islets are seen at a distance, and on reaching them they are seen to shut out the land to the S.W. one with the other. Sounding three leagues from the land, 33 fathoms, black clay, will be found, and a clean bottom will not be brought up. All night we had to stand off with this wind, and misty weather.

Saturday the 12th of January we were 8 or 10 leagues from the land, sounding in 60 and later in 70 fathoms. No observation was taken as there was no sun.

Sunday the 13th of January, seeking the land with the wind N.W. and W.N.W. we could not reach the bay of San Julian, making a landfall four leagues too far south, the wind turning more to the west. We were running down the coast to the south in 10, 9, 8, 7 fathoms, clean bottom. There was nothing to be done but to keep the coast in sight. Passing the point which was concealing the coast-line to the S.W. we found 26 to 30 fathoms so near the land that at the same distance we usually found 10 fathoms. Night came on with the wind S.W., and as the wind was light we steered to the south with little sail. At midnight the wind rose.

On Monday the 14th of January, at noon, we were off the entrance of the bay of La Cruz with the wind N.W. to W.N.W. At the entrance the wind turned S.W. and then calm, with a current from the S.E. We sounded in 27 fathoms at a distance of three or four leagues from the land; but the bottom rocky so that we could not get the lead up. Took the altitude in 51° 5′. Judging from the entrance it could not fail to be a good port. The calm continued for two or three hours after noon, and then the wind began to blow with such force from the land, that it was not possible to show any sail, and we hove to for a long time with her head off shore. Then we set the foresail and mizen, and proceeded down the coast.

Tuesday the 15th of January was the day of the glorious San Amaro. The sun rose upon rather high whitish hills, flat on the top, like the coast at Cape San Vicente; and at the end of them was the river Gallego which appeared to be a very large river with a wide entrance. But it has a bad stony bottom on the north side with a depth of 3, 4, and 5 fathoms. Before arriving at the entrance we had soundings of 8 to 9 fathoms, clean bottom. We passed the mouth on the south side, with soundings of 10, 12, and 14 fathoms. This ought to be the channel to the southern region, for it has a point of smooth beach which continues for more than four leagues. In the course of these four leagues there are eight or nine hills which looked like islands, or palms with great branches. After passing the river the altitude was taken at noon in 52°. From the mouth of the Gallego river we continued a southerly course, with soundings of 12 to 15 fathoms, clean bottom, until we sighted the high land ending in the Cape of Virgins. Half the way the land is low like a beach, so that it is only in sight when very near, the other half towards the Cape of Virgins is high land but flat on the top like the coast at Cape San Vicente and Algarve. The coast at the river of La Cruz and thence to the river Gallego, and coming from the sea for a landfall, the Cape of Virgins can easily be seen from the river Gallego. For this landfall two things are to be noted. One is that under the high point of the river Gallego there is little depth and a stony bottom. This is only close under the point for before arriving at it the bottom is clean sand. The other is that from the 8 or 9 hills, looking like trees, on the coast, I saw the Cape of Virgins, and if it is clear the high land near the cape will be in sight. I give this notice, in case it should be hazy and the land not clearly visible, in which case it will be necessary to proceed with the lead in hand.

We arrived so as to find bottom within the Cape of Virgins at sunset, near a beach a little over a league within the strait, with the Cape of Virgins N.E. That night we were in 15 to 16 fathoms, clean bottom, very near the land.

Wednesday the 16th of January, at dawn, the wind came from the S.S.W. with rain and mist. Fearing that the wind would turn more to the S.W. and being so near the shore that there was little room to make sail, we got up anchor and went to sea. It blew hard all day so that we were driven 6 or 8 leagues from the Cape of Virgins. We sounded in 35 fathoms, better bottom than near the shore. At night the weather improved, and we stood for the Cape of Virgins. Before dawn, we were standing off and on. There is a bank at a distance of a league from the cape with 10, 8, 7, and 6 fathoms. Thus far we came in the night, and as there was little depth, we went round the cape and waited for morning.

Thursday the 17th of January we were at the mouth of the strait with the wind W.S.W. We could not see where to anchor. There was a small bay with 35 to 40 fathoms, clean bottom. We anchored there at noon, but there was no place for taking the sun on shore. So we took it on board the ship in 52° 20′.

The Cape of Virgins is easily known, for though the land is flat at the top, it is higher than the coast in the rear, and soon it hides the land to the west and W.S.W., so that it is not seen on the other side of the Fuego, unless it is very clear. Within the strait the coast runs to the west, as high as the cape for 4 or 5 leagues. It is not visible further. Thence, proceeding up the strait the course conforms to the land on either side, both shores being visible, until the narrowest part is entered.

It is to be noted that from the cape to the entrance into the channel the bottom is stones and gravel. The

clear ground is from 20 fathoms onwards, except near the flat point where we anchored. Thence to within the strait it is as good bottom as can be found for 15, 18, and 20 fathoms.

We got the boat out, and went on shore where we found a wreck. We took from the stern a part of the rudder and tiller, four or five chains, and other things. We also found a place where many fires had been made, and near them numerous shells of *mogillones*[1]. We took some and, though small, they were pleasant to the taste and good.

If it is desired to anchor at the Cape of Virgins, it should be between the cape itself and the beach within the strait, where there is room to make sail if the wind should come from S.S.W. or south. For the bottom is better near that beach than off the Cape of Virgins. Within this point of the beach there is a very large bay, and in it a small river where there are many *mogillones*[1] in the mud, which are very good, though small.

That night we had the wind S.W. and were in difficulty, for it blew very hard with thick weather. Fearing that it would change to S.E., though it was not yet day we got the anchor up, complaining that the wind would not allow us to enter the strait, which we wished to do, so as to examine it thoroughly.

As the bad weather continued, the pilots were consulted and they all agreed that the weather would prevent us from entering the strait, and that it was, therefore, advisable to pass onwards in search of the new strait.

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[1] Shell fish attached to rocks.

Third part of the Voyage from the Cape of Virgins to the Strait of San Vicente and Cape Deseado. Entry of the Strait of Magellan from the South Sea, and departure from it by the Cape of the Virgins.

On Friday the 18th of January, at break of dawn, we got under way with the wind S.W. and S.S.W., from the cape south of that of the Virgins of the Strait of Magellan, steering S.S.E. and sometimes S.E. On this course we crossed the mouth of the strait in 14 to 15 fathoms, until we came to 6 fathoms, which was the end of the bank we had found the night before. Passing this point the depth increased to 22 and 24 fathoms, always with good and clean bottom, that which we left behind not being so good, gravel and sometimes stones.

Until noon we sailed in fine weather with variable winds, in sight of the Cape of Espiritu Santo which is the southern entrance of the strait[1]. To the south of this cape there is a wide bay. We did not take the sun as it was obscured at noon. We steered with the intention of entering it, but the winds were so variable, and so strong from the land, west and W.S.W., that we were prevented from reaching it.

On Saturday the 19th of January, at dawn, we were off the Cape of Espiritu Santo, having steered south all night, or S. b. E., without being able to work more to windward. At 8 in the forenoon we were able to steer S.S.W. coasting along, and at 11 we arrived at the channel of San Sebastian. We found 20 fathoms in it, clean bottom. On the north side it has a beach of white sand, 4 or 5 leagues in length, at the foot of the high land extending from the

[1] A steep white cliff about 190 feet high.

Cape of Espiritu Santo. It appears to be all open until it is approached nearer, when the beach appears, and presently the size of the entrance is seen. It has a width of more than a league at the mouth. The land is higher than any we had left behind, and the depth is 15 to 20 fathoms, clean bottom. But half way up the channel, on the south side, there is only a depth of 6 or 7 fathoms, stony. At this point the whole course of the channel is seen, as wide as at the entrance as far as it was visible, like a great sea. The altitude was taken in 53° 16′[1].

From the Cape of Espiritu Santo to this channel the coast runs N.W. and S.E. He who navigates along it must keep the lead in hand, for 6 or 8 leagues out at sea he will find 25, 30, and 40 fathoms, clean, and when he comes to stony bottom he is near the land.

Leaving this channel we sailed along the coast as far as the Cape of Penas[2], 2 or 3 leagues from the land, where there are 6 or 7 fathoms, stony. Near the land some rocks were sighted, which looked like fishermen's boats. From here to the Cape of Penas there was another very large bay and the land was high and looked more inviting than what we had left behind. That night there was a cross sea until morning, with the wind south and S.S.W.

Sunday the 20th of January, being the feast of San Sebastian, at dawn the wind was W.S.W., and we shaped a course for the land to see whether there was any bay or port, approaching as near as the weather would permit. On the other side of Cape Penas, to the S.E., there is another very large bay. The altitude was taken in 53° 40′.

From that cape to the south or S.E. the mountains are very high and all covered with snow, like the coast of the

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[1] This bay was then supposed to be a channel leading into the Strait of Magellan, and is so shown on the old charts. Nodal's latitude is quite correct.

[2] 55° 51′ S.

Asturias. They are easy to recognize but only by reason of the snow, for there is nothing else from the Cape of Penas onwards. As the mountains are lofty they appear like islands at a distance. They run N.W. and S.E. with the coast. All this day we proceeded with squalls, having to shorten and make sail more than 20 times. We did not make good more than six or eight leagues in the whole day. In the night the wind changed to south, and we were standing out to sea and hove to until morning.

On Monday the 21st of January there was fine weather at dawn, with N.E. to N.N.E. wind. We sailed along the coast to the S.E. two or three leagues off shore, in 25 or 20 fathoms. At noon the altitude was taken in 54°. In the afternoon the natives made a fire near the beach. If it had been earlier the boat would have been sent to see what it was. Night came on before we reached the Cape of Santa Ines. As it was her day we gave the cape that name.

On Tuesday the 22nd of January, at dawn, we were a little beyond the Cape of Santa Ines[1] steering east with the wind from the north and N.N.W. blowing very fresh, so that the ships made good progress always along the coast. Being near the land at noon, the altitude was taken in 54° 30′.

Running along the coast in the fine weather which God had given us, we sighted a low point at the foot of the high land. As it was the day of San Vicente we gave it that name. Above it rose the mountains which are on the east side of the new strait. As soon as we passed the Cape of San Vicente we came in sight of another low point which is the entrance of the strait.

To this point we gave the name of Cape San Diego and in discovering it we also discovered the mouth of the

[1] 22 miles S.E. of Cape Penas.

bay between the Cape of San Vicente and that of San Diego, distant three to four leagues from each other; it appeared to be a very good bay.

In discovering this strait God knows the joy and satisfaction that all felt that day. We displayed our banners, fired our guns, and gave thanks to God for the great mercy which He had shown us.

It is to be noted that though the Cape of San Vicente is low where the land ends, yet above the cape the land is high and covered with snow. This route is close along the coast. More out at sea, the opening of the strait is presently seen, which is very wide, more than 8 leagues and twice as wide as the straits of Gibraltar, with higher mountains on each side. Only the capes of San Vicente and San Diego are low. All the rest of the land is high on both sides.

Arrived off Cape San Diego at about 4 in the afternoon, we found such a quantity of birds in the strait that they covered the sea. The current was so strong that, if it had not been for the fair weather it would have been impossible to enter that day.

If the wind rises when off Cape San Diego care must be taken that the current does not carry a vessel on to the point. At a little distance from the cape we sounded, and sometimes got 35, at others 30 fathoms. At other times, owing to the wind and strong current we got no bottom. For a long time we were unable to make headway. After passing the cape we tried to get into some bay to avoid such a current. There were 14 to 15 fathoms, stony ground. We ran along the coast to the south, and at 3 or 4 leagues from the cape, just as night was coming on we anchored in a very good bay which we named the Port of Good Success[1]. Getting a sounding clear of the current there was clear and good bottom. Here we found plenty of water and fuel, and

[1] 7 miles south of Cape San Diego.

near the beach many sardines like those of Spain, very fat and good. Seals and sea lions frequented the coast. That night they fished from the ships, and caught many fish.

On Wednesday the 23rd of January, at dawn, we went on shore, landing on a very good beach. Although the ground is rough, it is densely covered with trees. We carried arms in case anything should occur, but thinking it unlikely that there should be people in such a rough country. After having landed, we were well satisfied that there should be such good supplies of fuel and water, and plenty of sardines near the shore which the seals and sea lions sought for. Some of us went to catch sardines, others to get wood and water. While the men were thus employed the Captain Gonzalo de Nodal went to another part of the beach to see another stream which flowed down at a little distance. At this point eight natives came down, and when we saw them we fell back on our people to take up arms. At this moment the natives were seen from the ships, and Captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal discharged a piece to warn us. Still the natives came on until they arrived where we were, and then we saw that they were without any arms, and that they came in their skins, quite naked. Some had caps of white birds' feathers, and others had skins of sheep[1] with long wool like those of Spain, or a deer skin worn as a cloak, with woollen thread. Their shoes were of leather tanned with red ochre. They came with their arms outstretched, and calling out in their manner *a a a*, throwing up their caps in the air as a sign of friendship. On this we came to them and soon afterwards three others arrived together. They looked particularly at our clothes, and were especially attracted by those who wore red apparel, asking for it by signs. We gave them some glass beads, needles, and other trifles. They had no beards, and their faces were all

[1] Guanacos.

painted with red ochre and white. They appeared to be good runners and leapers. They did not trust us much, for they only came to take what they could get and presently departed, especially the young ones.

On this day, the 23rd of January 1619, the moon was eight days old, and according to the rules it would be high water on the coast of Spain at 9.24. In this strait it was low water at the same time; so that when it is high water in Spain it is low water in the straits.

After this we went on board with wood and water, though little. Having finished dinner we went on shore again, with the idea of catching some natives. We took with us some trifles, two flasks of wine and bread which we gave them and they took. But nothing would induce them to eat or drink what we gave them; from which we supposed that they thought we had given them some poison. They very readily accepted anything of iron or other metal, even taking the rims of the flasks which were of lead, and anything else of that kind. Here we considered how we might catch some of them. But we reflected that if they were enraged they might assemble in force, and we should have no place for getting wood and water. This was much more important, for we did not know whether we should find such a good port further on, or such a good occasion for obtaining supplies. So we determined to leave them for the present, securing their friendship by the things we had given them. We got some water and wood, and embarked in an orderly way, so that the natives might not suspect us, for they watched us like eagles; and we had no apprehension of their hostility, for they seemed to be frightened of us. They could never have seen strangers before. An arquebus had no terror for them, nor did they know what it was. For there were some with cords ready to fire, and they made no movement whatever. As they did not understand what these arms were, an order was given not to fire

off an arquebus on any account, so as not to frighten them. So we went on board the caravels, and left them jumping with their arms extended, showing signs of pleasure. It is to be noted that these people left the white bread, we had given them, on the beach, and, in our presence, pulled up the wild grass and ate it, as if they were bullocks or horses. They also ate the sardines they found on the beach raw, without preparing them in any way, which is the conduct of savages.

Up to this time God was served that we should have such fine weather that it could not be better. But as night came on it changed so that, if we had not been in that port, we should certainly have been driven into the unknown sea without being able to reach the land so as to sail along the coast to make other discoveries, while numerous currents were caused by this bad weather. Nor did it give us a chance of taking the sun to find out what was important to us. It was a miraculous thing that we should have found this port so opportunely.

On Thursday the 24th and Friday the 25th of January the natives came with bows and arrows. When we saw that they were armed, we went to finish our watering at another part, outside the beach and near the corner of it, which was a safer place. They could not come to us except by two ways where we placed sentries to warn us if the natives approached. Here a good stream came down from the mountains, clearer and brighter than the water we found in the river on the beach. The natives arrived and we let them come unarmed, leaving their weapons hidden. We wanted to seize some of them, but the boats were so laden with wood and water that they would scarcely hold our own people who had come on shore. We saw that one or two went away, calling to others who had remained behind with bows and arrows. We hindered them when they retired and, as the sentries would not let them pass, they began to

climb the hills like goats so that, if we had wished, we could not have caught them. Some of us thought it would be well to destroy those who were on a great rock, whence they might be able to do us harm with their arrows. But it was agreed that, unless they began, we should not attack them, and thus we should be on friendly terms another time. We embarked in good order, the boats laden with wood and water so that there was scarcely room to row on board the ships.

On Saturday the 26th of January the weather was so bad, and the sea so rough that we could not land. Before noon more than 20 or 30 natives passed from one part of the coast to another. In the forenoon Captain Gonzalo de Nodal got into the boat and went to examine the point which terminates the strait to the south. All that was in sight was discovered, the most distant objects being two rocks. In returning we sounded the bay in 14 or 15 fathoms. Two thirds of the northern part is clean, the other third to the south not so clean. It was all clean where the ships were anchored, at the entrance of the bay, and within all is clean in 10 or 12 fathoms.

On Sunday the 27th of January, at dawn, we went on shore to gather a little fuel for the *capitana* which had not enough, and some barrels of water. We then made sail in fair weather. It remained calm. The current was so strong that a little after noon we found ourselves drifted far to the north. The wind then came from the S.W. and we turned S.E. crossing the channel of the strait with a very strong current. In mid channel, on the west side, the current flowed towards the sea to the north. On the east side the current flowed to the south. Without wind it carried us towards the shore. In the night we found ourselves, with little wind, in mid channel. Two hours before daylight we had another change, being carried towards the shore and drifting northwards. We sounded at

intervals, and even in some detail, and never found more than 35 to 40 up to 60 fathoms with a stony bottom. We discovered that the whole channel was in soundings.

On Monday the 28th of January, at dawn, the water returned to the south with such force and vigour that without wind, or with very little, within three hours we were driven towards the sea to the south. The sea, which set against the water from the north, was so strong that it was fearful to see how it was broken up. We sounded and found on this east side 40, 50 or 60 fathoms not very far from the shore[1].

On the northern side of the unknown land[2], to the eastward, the coast was running E.N.E. and E. by N. as far as we could see. On the south side of the same land the coast runs E.N.E. and off the Cape of San Bartolomé[3] there are two rocks, and further on two more. On both sides there are several openings which seemed to lead into deep bays. But on the south side, facing the south sea, the current is so strong and the sea so high that no one would venture to approach the land, especially as all the bottom is stony. On the south side we found greater depth than to the north, for no bottom was found at a hundred and more fathoms, and the water as black as pitch, very different from the north

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[1] Lieut. Kendall says that the velocity of the tides is very great in and near the strait, and as they meet with constant obstacles from the manner in which the headlands jut out at right angles to their direction, there is produced, when the wind is strong and contrary, a rough cross sea impassable for a boat. Flood comes from east along the north shore of Staten Island, and continues its course south through the strait, varying in velocity from 5 to 8 knots. The great tide wave of flood comes from S.W. *Voyage of the Chanticleer*, II. p. 255.

[2] Staten Island is about 50 miles long east and west, with several very deep bays on the north side. The hills are lofty, of clay slate, and covered with forest, chiefly trees of *Fagus Antarctica* 30 to 40 feet high, Winter's bark, and an arbutus.

[3] The S.W. cape of Staten Island.

side. On the north side the coast is more quiet, the sea clearer and better than on the south side.

Coming to seek for this strait, if coming from the west to enter the south sea, with a N.W. or N.N.W. wind, there will be fine weather, but detention from the sea which is very high. If the mouth of the strait is approached from the east, it will easily be entered with any favourable wind, but the strait must be navigated with great care owing to the currents, for there are many counter-currents.

Having left the strait for the south, very near the Cape of San Bartolomé[1], and having got clear of the current, with the wind N.E. and N.N.E. we crossed to the west. At noon we took the sun with the astrolabe 37°, the declination being 18° 13′, which together make 55° 13′.

On Tuesday the 29th of January the coast to the west was followed, steering W.S.W. so as to keep it well in sight. In the afternoon the wind changed to S.W. and we stood inshore until we came to the Bay of San Gonzalo, which is very large and good. At the entrance the soundings were 30 to 35 fathoms, stone. We could not round the Cape of San Gonzalo, which is at the mouth of the bay, so we stood out to sea with the wind S.W. It blew fresh, and the next day, being Wednesday the 30th, it blew a gale. We were under foresail and mizen so as not to be drifted to the east, and at times there was a cross sea raised by the force of the wind.

The bearing of Monte Gordo which is at the mouth of the strait, from the Cape of San Gonzalo is E.N.E. and W.S.W. This bay might be sought in coming from the S.W. for it has capacity for shelter.

On Thursday the last day of January we stood towards the land bearing N.W., but we did not sight it owing to the thick weather, nor could we take an observation.

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[1] S.W. cape of Staten Island.

It cleared in the afternoon and at sunset the wind was S.W. to W.S.W. veering to south. That night it blew hard with a very high sea. We fell off to the east and E.S.E.: made good since Wednesday S.W. more than 25 or 30 leagues.

February.

On Friday the 1st of February there was a gale from S.W. and W.S.W. We took the altitude in 56°. There was a cross sea, and we could only show the mizen sails.

On Saturday the 2nd of February the wind changed to N. in the afternoon. We altered course to west, very near the mountains on the east side of the strait. There was an easterly current which gave rise to alarm.

On Sunday the 3rd of February the wind continued in the same quarter until the afternoon, when we were off Monte Gordo. It fell calm and then the wind sprang up from the S.S.W. with a cross sea. We sounded at 6 or 8 leagues out at sea, 110 fathoms no bottom. It may be said that the sea off the south coast is deeper than the northern sea.

On Monday the 4th of February the wind came from N.E. and N.N.E. Night came on with the point of San Gonzalo shutting out the bay. We steered W. and W. b. S. and W.S.W. Near midnight the wind shifted to east and S.E. and all night we shaped a course S.W. b. S.

On Tuesday the 5th of February the morning dawned with the wind N.E. 4 to 6 leagues from the Cape of San Ildefonso[1], having been long detained in the strait by the currents. At noon the sun was taken with the astrolabe, 40°, the declination 15° 50′, which make 56° less a sixth[2].

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[1] San Ildefonso Cape is the Cape Horn of Schouten. It was discovered by Sir Francis Drake, who named it Cape Elizabeth.

[2] This latitude is correct. Cape Elizabeth, Cape Horn, or Cape San Ildefonso is in 55° 59′ S.

Between the Cape of San Ildefonso and the Cape of San Gonzalo there are three islands which are very like the Berlings. The first, appearing alone when we approach from the new strait, has 3 or 4 rocks to the south, and the two which are near the cape are distant from the first, one or two leagues, a little more or less. The other two are together and at a distance appear one, though a vessel might pass between them, and close to they appear as two. Close to the one on the S.W. there are 7 or 8 rocks, looking like boats riding on the sea. These two, to the S.W. bear N.E. b. E. from the Cape of San Ildefonso[1]. Off the cape there are two or three large and lofty rocks, and near them 4 or 5 smaller ones, appearing above them close to the cape. The land is high and covered with trees. N.E. of the cape, and to S.W., there are the entrances to many bays and ports, all bordered by wooded hills.

From this cape the waters flow N.E. to the new strait, and from the cape to the west they flow S.W. This we experienced when we passed the cape, for during a whole night we did not make more than 5 or 6 leagues with a fair wind. We also saw it well when we got a S.W. wind the first time at the entrance to the Bay of San Gonzalo; when the current carried us once more into the new strait, and far to leeward of the position we expected to be in. On the contrary, after the cape was passed, working to windward, with the wind S.W. and W.S.W. we made our way in spite of foul winds, showing us that a strong current was helping us.

Passing the cape, the coast W.N.W. as far as another point which was called the Cape of Udra; the distance between them being 8 to 10 leagues, a little more or less.

On Wednesday the 6th of February we took the

[1] These are the Barnevelt Islands of Schouten.

altitude between the two capes, in 56° 8′. Before night the wind changed to S.W. On the other side of the Cape of Udra there was the entrance to another very large bay, and the land projected more into the sea, with the Capes of Udra and San Ildefonso east and west.

On Thursday the 7th of February the wind went round from S.S.E. to S. and S.W. and blew a gale. We were under fore and mizen, 25 leagues from the land by dead reckoning.

On Friday the 8th of February the gale veered to W.S.W. with a cross sea and we were carried 8 or 10 leagues to S.E.

On Saturday the 9th of February the weather improved, but there was a heavy sea caused by the late gale. In the afternoon the wind came round to east, and it was very cold with rain and snow. Sighted the Cape of San Ildefonso to N.E. We steered S.W. that night because of the threatening weather.

On Sunday the 10th of February at daylight we found ourselves to windward of the said cape with the currents which were very strong from the S.W., considering the great distance they travel with little wind and that contrary. We could only make a course to W. b. S.

In the afternoon we sighted an island to S. and S. b. W., the Cape of San Ildefonso bearing N.E. b. E. We were sighting the coast to the west, and from what we were able to make out, we were satisfied that the land we had seen out at sea was an island, and near it there were two other small rocks. We were braced close up during the night, with little wind, that we might get a better view in the morning.

On Monday the 11th of February our courses were W., W. b. N., W.N.W., with the wind S.W. until we discovered two islets about a league from the land, a little

more or less. We could not see more because it came on to blow hard with snow. We stood to the S.E. under fore and mizen, soundings in 55 to 60 fathoms, 6 or 8 leagues from the land. The day before, between the island S.W. of the Cape of San Ildefonso, we got the same soundings but not so clean as to-day, which was sand and good bottom, a thing not found between the strait and Cape San Ildefonso.

The Cape of San Ildefonso is easy to make out, as the mountains are very high[1], and to the N.E. there are the bays and islands already mentioned, as will be more clearly seen on the plan that will be drawn. From the east and E.N.E. the land is like the sketch here given, from Cape San Ildefonso to the Cape of Udra, where there are many bays, so that, at a distance, the capes appear like islands, the mountains being very high and broken.

Cape of Udra. This is well known. Cape of San Ildefonso appears to be an island at a distance.

Tuesday the 12th of February was Shrove Tuesday. We dawned in the sea of Cape San Ildefonso, the wind W.N.W. Steering S.W. at night we were two leagues from the island of Diego Ramirez[2] which is S.W. of the Cape of San Ildefonso. We sounded in 50 to 55 fathoms, clean.

That night the wind was W.S.W. and we steered south under fore and mizen, intending to return to the island and anchor off it if it proved to be possible. On its south side

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[1] Cape Horn rises to 1391 feet.

[2] Distant 57 miles from Cape Horn S.W. The highest part is 587 feet. Lat. 56° 31′ S.

there is another great rock. It presents the accompanying shape.

At this time there were strong gales every day, with furious squalls, much cold and snow.

On Wednesday the 13th of February the wind was W.N.W. obliging us to steer S.W. and preventing us from getting near the island, from which we were distant 15 leagues by dead reckoning. The altitude was not taken as there was no sun.

On Thursday the 14th of February the course was S.W. with the same weather. We made little way and there was no sun.

On Friday the 15th of February the course was W. b. S. with the wind N.N.W. and we made 10 or 12 leagues by dead reckoning. The altitude was not taken as there was no sun, the weather stormy and cold, the sea high.

On Saturday the 16th of February the wind as above, and the course west. We made about 15 leagues by dead reckoning, the current from W.N.W. The altitude was taken in 58° 30′.

On Sunday the 17th of February with the wind N. and N.N.W. we steered west and made 30 leagues by dead reckoning. The altitude taken in 58° 21′.

On Monday the 18th of February the wind was S.W. at dawn, and we steered N.W. until night when the wind came round to W. We made 20 leagues by dead reckoning. The altitude was not taken as there was no sun.

On Tuesday the 19th of February the course was N.W. b. N. and N.N.W. with wind N.E., and we made

15 leagues by dead reckoning. The altitude was taken in 56° 30′.

On Wednesday the 20th of February the wind had changed to north and N.N.W. with a cross sea. We fell off for 8 or 10 leagues. The sun was not visible, the weather stormy with snow.

On Thursday the 21st of February, at dawn, the wind was S.W. and S.S.W. afterwards W. and W.N.W. We steered many courses according to the direction of the wind. About 15 leagues N.N.E. made good. No sun. Weather cold with many showers.

On Friday the 22nd of February the wind being W.S.W. we steered N.N.W. and made 35 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

On Saturday the 23rd of February we steered north until noon, and took the altitude in 52° 52′. The wind S.W. After taking the altitude we steered east until nightfall and sighted the land. During the night we were under fore and mizen with a strong westerly wind, very cold with snow and showers.

On Sunday the 24th of February, at dawn, we found ourselves in bad weather, and unable to approach the land. We took the sun in 53°, and in the afternoon we sighted land again. As there was not time to reach it before dark we put it off for another day.

On Monday the 25th of February the weather was still bad, with many squalls, yet we resolved to approach the land, and if we could not make out the strait, to stand out to sea again. God was served that we should make out Cape Deseado[1], which is the entrance of the strait bearing E. b. N. Although we were doubtful, we approached nearer, and sighted the Four Evangelists[2] which are on the

[1] On the map it is called *Sejada*, evidently a misprint.

[2] Four rocky islets: the highest rises to 177 feet; 25 miles N.W. of Cape Deseado.

north side. When we had entered, we were satisfied that it was the strait. At the entrance there was a strong outward current. The westerly wind took us in, giving thanks to God for having shown us so many and such singular mercies. We anchored late in the afternoon, though it was still daylight, two leagues from Cape Deseado; that we might rest and take observations on the next day. For we were all very tired after the bad weather we had experienced since leaving the new strait.

The cape on the south side, which we now call Cape Deseado is in 52° 45′[1], according to the altitude we took on the two previous days, when we sought to discover it.

The Cape Deseado and the adjoining coast to the south has 8 or 10 very lofty mountains covered with snow, and their peaks very easy to make out. These mountains, being very high, are visible from a great distance. The coast from Cape Deseado to the south, runs N.N.W. and S.S.E., as far as we could see when we entered the strait. The north side is not seen until one is well inside, though it is high land, but not so high on the south side. Thus, as we went on approaching the cape, the land opened out to us, and some large islands which are at the entrance of the strait. When inside, the Four Evangelists are discovered to seaward of the islands which are very high. Two of them are high, which appear first, the others are smaller, all of them like rocks.

In entering the strait Cape Deseado has to be approached having regard to what the weather will permit, it being

[1] Quite correct.

only necessary to look out for the conditions around you. The Apostles[1] are near the coast which runs to the south and are placed so that, even if it be night, they can do no harm, as is shown on the plan. If you should enter by the middle of the strait, and the land is concealed by mist, as sometimes will happen, steer S.E. until it is clear or until it is daylight. If it is night, in approaching the south part of the coast, stand on until the land is seen, for as it is high it cannot fail to be made out. Unless the vessel is in some bay where the current has no effect, there will be no bottom. In some parts a vessel may be close to the land, and yet bottom will not be found for the anchor. The north side should not be approached because there are three or four mouths of great bays which might be mistaken for the channel. On the south side a vessel proceeds securely steering S.E. but the anchorage should be sought for in the daytime. Unless the channel is entered with plenty of time, it may be difficult to find an anchorage at night, but a vessel will not be in danger if she keeps under sail, for all the channel is safe and in soundings.

The north coast runs N.N.W. and the Four Evangelists are more than two thirds from Cape Deseado to the north, and project out to sea more than three leagues. It is easy to pass to the north of them. He who comes out of the strait on his way to the coast of Chile or Peru, must steer N.W. at least until he has passed the Evangelists, and then to the south. Here the winds are generally S.W., S.S.W. and W.S.W., and it is well to work to windward along the coast until a good offing is reached. The current gives much help, and at low water it rushes out westward like an arrow.

On Tuesday the 26th of February we set out for the

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[1] Rocks 5 to 50 feet above the sea, with many breakers near them, the outer rock 4 miles from the land.

cape in the boats, to take observations, but the bad weather obliged us to return, the wind S.W. and W.S.W., with many squalls and snow. In the afternoon we again went away in the boats to an island which we found in a bay where there were two landlocked harbours, unseen until we were in the boat. We found 28 to 30 fathoms, stony bottom, in the entrances to these harbours. One was at the cape, and the other was where it is marked, with all we were able to see. The tides appeared to be very variable and under no certain rule. This is so in many parts of Spain, how much more in localities so remote. When we left the caravels it was two in the afternoon, and it was half ebb. We returned at five and it was low water. According to the calculation of Spain, the moon on the 14th of February would be at its twelfth day, and ordinary rules make it high tide at 12.45, nearly an hour and a half difference.

The current, when the tide is rising, flows into the strait and when ebbing it flows out, to the west. Here we gathered a quantity of *mogillones*, and other shell fish, when it was low water, with which the men were refreshed.

On Wednesday the 27th of February we made sail at sunrise, after seeing and noting all that was necessary. We stood along the coast to S.E., all being harbour and very large bays which gave us satisfaction to see. Sailing until nightfall for 15 leagues more or less, we then anchored in 28 fathoms, so near the land that there was barely room to make sail. But the sea was quite calm, and no storms, the land being very high and the anchorage well sheltered from all winds.

On Thursday the last day of February we made sail in the morning, steering S.E. b. S. and S.E. with a good W.S.W. wind. At night we anchored in a bay, which we named San Joseph, being the middle of the strait.

March.

On Friday the 1st of March, at dawn, we entered a cove in this bay, which is like dead water, to clean, and grease, and get in wood and water, of which there was plenty. In the same morning we beached the caravels and, though we did not find much harm done, we greased them as well as we could.

On Saturday the 2nd of March we took in all the water we required, without attending to anything else, and always with our arms at hand ready for the savages, though we never saw any. We found the huts where they had been, and many shells of *mogillones*; of which there were quantities very large and good, with which to refresh the men.

On Sunday the 3rd of March we cut wood of which there was plenty near the sea shore. We got on board what we needed, and then at low water, which would be 9.30, always with arms ready, it was a wonderful sight to behold the quantity of shell fish we collected. Their excellence was in their size and good taste, and in their doing no harm, insomuch that we needed no other food. We went on collecting for several days, so that we had enough in pickle to last through Lent. God was served that the weather should clear so that we could take the altitude on shore. We found 47° on the astrolabe, the declination 6° 52′, which together gave 53° 20′.

On the same day we made a calculation of the tides. According to the rule of Spain, if the February moon of this year was at the 14 day, then 14 to 28 makes another 14, and the 3 days of March added makes 17. According to the usual calculation this would give high water at 4.36 on the coast of Spain[1]. In this part we found that

[1] This calculation is quite correct.

low water was at 10, and high water at 4[1]. These times agree with those of Spain.

On Monday the 4th of March we got in the ballast required for the ships; and, after washing clothes, the people were refreshed.

On Tuesday the 5th of March we made sail at dawn, with the wind S.S.W. and S.W. being the usual winds in those parts, with much snow, and many squalls. We proceeded down the channel, steering S.E. b. E. and E.S.E., seeing on each side so many and such large bays that it was a sight to behold. We could not proceed a quarter of a league without coming to river mouths like those of Galicia[2], many more on the south than on the north side.

In the centre of the channel, for its whole length, no bottom can be found and in many places, even close to the shore, soundings are found with difficulty, and then only in the bays, and very near the land.

We arrived at the Bay of San Nicolas[3] and anchored in 18 fathoms. The bottom is clean, and in the middle of the bay there is an island[4] with three or four trees on it. We took soundings in the boats, finding 10, 12 to 15 fathoms clean. In the middle of the bay a very large valley is formed by a small river. At its mouth the boat grounded, but within there was more water. We went up it for a quarter of a league finding over a fathom of depth with a width equal to a stone's throw. This bay is to the east of the Cape of San Luis, and to the south of it are two rivers close to each other. At their mouth, to the south-west, there is a mountain with what appeared very like a small chapel on the summit.

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[1] High water is at 4, at Port Churruca, near where the ships of the Nodals then were.

[2] Arosa, Pontevedra, and Vigo, the deep bays of their native land of Galicia.

[3] The best anchorage west of Cape Froward.

[4] Sanchez Island, now covered with trees.

On Wednesday the 6th of March we waited until noon to take the sun, but it was overclouded so that we could not see it. Meanwhile the boats went away to take soundings in other bays to the eastward, where we found very good ports for anchoring and for getting wood and water.

On Thursday the 7th of March we waited until noon, and it pleased God to give us the sun for taking the altitude. For it is fortunate to be able to do so, the usual winds from S.W. and S.S.W. blowing furiously with squalls, so that it is seldom that the sky is clear. We found 48° 30′ on the astrolabe, declination 5° 19′, which gave us 53° 49′.

We took the observation on shore, and then made sail, steering N. b. E. and N.N.E. At night we sought for anchorage on the coast, but the channel was very deep, and we got no bottom. We sent the boat towards the land, with a lantern and a musket to show a light and discharge the piece if they got soundings. In this way we were able to anchor in 26 or 30 fathoms. From thence to the eastward the land is level and suitable for cultivation, very pleasant and better than the land further west.

On Friday the 8th of March, at dawn, we made sail in such fine weather that we sent the boats away with nets. They caught few fish, and set fire to the forest in three or four places. There was a great quantity of sardines near the ships. The channel is wider here than in any other part, and as the land is low on both sides, the opposite shore is scarcely visible unless the weather is very clear. Here there appears an opening on the south side, coming from the east, which appears to communicate with the channel of San Sebastian[1]. At noon we took the altitude

[1] Useless Bay of modern charts.

with the astrolabe in 48° 10′, declination 4° 56′, which together make 53° 6′. There was little wind, and it was late before we reached the Penguin Islands[1], three in number, like the Berlings but more level on the summits. We sounded in 12 to 15 fathoms, but the other ship finding no bottom they made sail and eventually found 57 fathoms very near us. The bottom consisted of small pebbles, some of which came up on the armings. There was much mud and black clay on the anchor. The western side of the islands is the best anchorage as the current is not so strong. On the east side it is not so good, for though the bottom is much better the current is stronger.

On Saturday the 9th of March, the day being fine, we went on shore at dawn. There was little wind and nearer the beach we found very good bottom in seven or eight fathoms, clear of the current. We came upon such quantities of the sea birds, called penguins, from which the island takes its name, that we filled the boat with them. These birds do not fly because they have no feathers on their wings, which are like those of a turtle. They only serve for moving in the sea. But they can run on shore almost like a man. The ground is covered with their holes. These birds are as big and fat as ducks, and I can certify with truth that, having weighed one, I found its weight to be 15 lbs. They skinned and salted these birds for the voyage, but did not eat any because it was Lent; though some partook of the livers boiled, and said they were very good. The penguins have a bad smell. There was a cask and a half of them in each ship. We went on board, and presently we made sail in fine weather, but with little wind, so that we were obliged to anchor again. We

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[1] This is the Elizabeth Island of Drake: 7 miles S.W. of the second narrows, 8 miles long by 2 broad. See *Drake's World encompassed*, p. 75.

took the altitude between the two islands, 48° 10′, the declination 4° 33′, giving us 52° 43′.

On Sunday the 10th of March we made sail at dawn with the wind S.S.W., not able to stem the current which flowed in. The wind veered round to east, and we anchored before reaching the point of the second strait towards the north. We were between that cape and the Penguin isles, in 17 fathoms, small gravel and shells. It is not ground that can do harm.

On Monday the 11th of March we made sail before a W.S.W. to W.N.W. wind, proceeding along the channel with land in sight on both sides for a distance of four or five leagues between those two points bearing N.E. and W.S.W. We sailed out of the first narrow where a vessel enters it coming from the north sea, and then anchored on the south side, for in all the narrow part there are no soundings on either side, except very close to the land, until the point to the south is passed. Then there is a small bay with depths from seven or eight to ten fathoms. Passing that bay soundings will scarcely be found, and at night it is more difficult. For this reason it will be necessary for large ships to anchor in daylight, when between the narrow points. Within or outside them there is no such necessity. Though it was late, near sunset, we went on shore to ascertain the tides. We found that, entering the strait from the west, the water went down more than a fathom, while we were on shore. When we thought it should be high water according to our reckoning, we found that it was nearly low water as we knew from the experience of two days.

On Tuesday the 12th of March we went on shore with all the pilots. We then made our calculations and found that the water rose until five in the morning when it was high tide, the water flowing to the east, and that from five onwards the water ebbed, entering the strait from the west.

According to the reckoning of Spain it should be high water at 11.48. The moon of February was at 14 of that month, for 28 days in that month, or 14 and 12. We have for March 26 of the moon, taking 15 there remains 11 that have passed, of March. Then in conformity with ordinary rules, high water should be at 11.48[1]. We found all this difference in the narrowest part, near the entrance to the Strait of Magellan.

Having made these observations, and ascertained what there was to know, we made sail with the wind S.W., and clear fine weather, proceeding up the north side of the channel. When we made sail we saw two or three natives. One of them got on a hillock, making signs with a skin or blanket he was carrying, and we saw that he was calling us. We sent the pilot Juan Nuñez away in a boat with arms, to go within hearing distance. If the native spoke so as to be understood, and wanted to come on board, he was to be brought. For we had the suspicion that he might possibly be a castaway from the ship that we had found wrecked near the Cape of Virgins, or from some other. For we once found such an one in the power of the Indians in Dominica in the year 1605 when we went with Don Luis Faxardo to Salinas de Araya with orders not to land. The boat came near the beach and found 20 natives with peaceful intent, naked to the skin, and like those we met in the new strait. They opened their arms, and jumped in sign of content and joy, asking those in the boat by signs to come on shore.

As I did not relate, when we were in the new strait, the incident of the first days when we had intercourse with the natives, I will now write it down as very necessary for the completeness of the history. As we could not understand

[1] It is high water full and change at 8.35 to the east of the first narrows, and at 9 in the narrows, with a rise at springs of 36 to 44 feet. At the other (west end) of the strait only 4 feet at springs, high water 1.32.

each other, the priests who came in our company, exercising their office as such, spoke and proposed the most sweet names of JESUS and MARY, and the prayer, *Our Father*, which Christ taught to his disciples. The natives seeking what our people wanted, repeated the same words, some with more gentleness, others with more asperity. In the following days they came skipping and jumping as was their wont and repeating the words JESUS and MARIA, some of them duplicating the r in MARIA, showing that they took pleasure in doing so. It seemed wonderful to us to hear these barbarians repeating so delicately the sovereign and divine names of our Lord and our Lady. As the pilot Juan Nuñez saw that the natives did not understand him he returned on board.

Proceeding on our voyage, and crossing the channel, we entered a bay on the north side, one or two leagues beyond the narrow part. On the beach there were three rocks which appeared to be surrounded by the sea, from the ships, but from the mast head we could see that they were on the beach.

On the south side, further east than where we anchored, there is another low point where there is a bank of sea weed, which should have a wide berth, for the boat was sent away to sound under sail, and found 4, 5 to 6 fathoms over the sea weed. But it is not very far from the beach, and ships cannot go so near. If they are working to windward the weed is presently sighted over the water. After passing it there are 15 to 18 fathoms, and then mid channel is reached, where there is great depth.

Proceeding past this bay towards the Cape of Virgins, we passed along the coast, sounding in from 25 and 20 to 15 fathoms, clean bottom. In passing out of the strait at night or in thick weather, a vessel should not stand in to sight land, but steer east or N.E. b. E. to clear the cape and beach which project to the S.E. of the Cape of Virgins, and

always with the lead in hand. If it is clear this will not be necessary as everything is in sight on either side. We came to off the Cape of Virgins in the same place where we anchored when we arrived on the outward voyage.

It should be noted, that in passing the Cape of Virgins to enter the Strait of Magellan, the entrance should be on the north side if there is a fair wind, which is rarely the case so far as we have seen, for the winds are usually from S.W., W.S.W., west or W.N.W., which are all contrary and come over the land. They blow out of the strait with such force that there is no facing them, and this is the reason that this strait is so difficult to enter. To pass to the south it is necessary to navigate with the lead in hand, steering always by the plan that the pilot has with him, and which is given in this book.

At dawn on the 13th of March, being Wednesday, we went on shore with the object of again observing the tides which we found to be in conformity with our observations the day before, and also to take the altitude. In landing the boat was swamped and we were all thrown into the water, for the sea was very rough with a south wind which blew hard for some time. Those who were in the *capitana's* boat, having seen what happened to us, came to the shore and were swamped in the same way. We were thus left without the means of returning on board. But God was served that the wind should go down, so that we were able to right the boats and return on board, with much difficulty, before noon. We took the sun on board, with the astrolabe 49° 25′, declination 2° 59′, which together gave 52° 24′[1] in which latitude the Cape of Virgins may be placed. On the beach we found traces of natives, and of beasts with split hoofs, and of dogs. The natives lit a fire with much smoke on the hill top which presently went out. We returned to

[1] 52° 18′.

get some iron nails from the wreck which we found on the outward voyage.

Fourth Voyage from the Cape of Virgins to Brazil, Port of Pernambuco.

On Wednesday the 13th of March, after having taken the sun, we made sail before a fair west and N.W. wind, and as soon as we were 4 to 6 leagues from the Cape of Virgins we steered N.N.E.

On Thursday the 14th of March we proceeded N.N.E. with the same wind. The altitude was 48° 35′, the declination 2° 35′, which gave us 51° 10′.

On Friday the 15th of March it was fine weather and calm. We sounded 8 leagues from the land, 60 fathoms, black sand. The altitude was 48° 50′, declination 2° 11′, making the latitude 51° 1′.

Saturday the 16th of March we steered N.E. with the wind N.N.W. The altitude 48° 20′, declination 1° 48′, latitude 50° 8′. The wind veered to south, S.S.W. and S.W. at night, with snow and squalls.

Sunday the 17th of March our course was N.E. with a S.W. wind. Altitude 48°, declination 1° 24′, giving 49° 24′. Squalls, mist, and bad weather.

Monday the 18th of March, course east and N.E. b. E. with much wind from W.S.W. and squalls. We made 55 leagues by dead reckoning, but no observation as there was bad weather and no sun.

Tuesday the 19th of March, course E.N.E. with strong W.S.W. wind, and appearances which gave rise to alarm. No sun, 60 leagues by dead reckoning.

Wednesday the 20th of March, course N.E. with much wind from west and W.S.W. We got a sight 45° 13′.

Thursday the 21st of March, course N.E. with S.W. and

S.S.W. winds. We got the altitude 44° and took off 10′ for declination, which gave us 43° 50′.

Friday the 22nd of March, course N.E. with S.S.W. wind, blowing hard. No sight, but 60 leagues by dead reckoning.

Saturday the 23rd of March we made N.E. 50 leagues by dead reckoning, with wind S.S.W. No sun.

Sunday the 24th of March, course N.E. and N.E. b. E. 45 leagues. No sun. Sounded, no bottom at 150 fathoms.

Monday the 25th of March, course N.E. b. E. with wind W.N.W. and N.W. 40 leagues. We took the altitude in barely 42°, taking off 1° 49′ for declination gave us 40° 16′ allowing for inaccuracy in the altitude.

Tuesday the 26th of March, course N.E. b. E. with wind N.W. No sun. We made 30 leagues by dead reckoning.

Wednesday the 27th of March, N.E. b. E. course, and S.W. to W.S.W. wind. At night there was much lightning with rain. It was fine for an hour and then the wind came from S.W. again. Distance by dead reckoning 30 leagues. No sun.

Thursday the 28th of March, course N.E. b. E. with wind S.W., 35 leagues. We took an altitude not quite 40°, declination 2° 54′, leaving 37° 6′.

Friday the 29th of March, course north and N.E. b. E. with wind S.W. Made 35 leagues by dead reckoning. Altitude 35° 42′, and adjusted the position on the chart.

Saturday the 30th of March, course N.E. with fine weather and a N.E. wind. Took the altitude in 38° 50′, declination 3° 41′, leaving 35° 9′ for latitude.

Sunday the 31st of March, course N.N.E., wind east and E.S.E., fine weather and all sail set. We took the altitude in 38° 30′, declination 4° 4′, leaving a latitude of 34° 26′.

April.

On Monday the 1st of April the course was north with the wind E.N.E. We took the altitude in 38°, declination 4° 27′, and there remained 33° 33′.

On Tuesday the 2nd of April, with wind veered to N.N.E., we were under mizen and fore, steering east. The altitude was 38° 30′, declination 4° 50′, leaving 33° 40′, falling off to east 12 or 13 leagues.

On Wednesday the 3rd of April, course E. b. S. with wind N.E. and N.N.E., fell off to E.S.E. another 12 leagues. The altitude 39° 10′, declination 5° 13′, latitude 33° 57′.

On Thursday the 4th of April the course N.E. with wind north, we made 12 or perhaps 15 leagues. No sun.

Friday the 5th of April, course N.E. with wind north and N.N.W., 15 leagues, the altitude in 33° 31′.

On Saturday the 6th of April the course N.E. and N.E. b. N. with wind N.W. and W.N.W. We took the altitude in 38° 40′, declination 6° 22′, giving us 32° 18′.

Sunday the 7th of April, course N.E., wind S.W. and south veering to E. We took the altitude in 37°, declination 6° 44′, latitude 30° 16′.

Monday the 8th of April, course N.E., wind E. and E.S.E. The altitude 35° 40′, declination 7° 7′, latitude 28° 33′.

On Tuesday the 9th of April it was calm. We did not move, nor take the altitude.

Wednesday the 10th of April, the course N.E. with wind N.W. and N.N.W. Altitude 35° 40′, declination 7° 51′, latitude 27° 49′.

Thursday the 11th of April, course N.E., altitude 35°, declination 8° 14′, latitude 26° 46′.

Friday the 12th of April, course N.E. with the same wind. Altitude 34° 30′, declination 8° 36′, latitude 25° 54′.

Saturday the 13th of April, course N.E. and N.E. b. N.,

with wind west and W.N.W. Altitude 33° 15′, declination 8° 58′, latitude 24° 17′.

Sunday the 14th of April, course N.E. and N.E. b. N., wind S. and S.S.W. Altitude 32°, declination 7° 19′, latitude 22° 41′.

Monday the 15th of April, course N.E. b. N., wind S.E. to E.S.E., fine weather under all sail. Altitude 30° 30′, declination 9° 42′, giving us 22° 50′ latitude.

Tuesday the 16th of April, course N.N.E. with wind E. Altitude 29° 15′, declination 10° 2′, latitude 19° 15′.

Wednesday the 17th of April, course north and wind east to E.N.E. Altitude 27° 40′, declination 10° 23′, latitude 17° 17′.

Thursday the 18th of April, course north with east wind. Altitude 26°, declination 10° 44′, latitude 15° 16′.

Friday the 19th of April, course N. and N. b. E. to N.N.E., wind S.W. Altitude 24° 20′, declination 11° 5′, latitude 13° 15′.

Saturday the 20th of April, the course north with wind from the east. Altitude 22° 25′, declination 11° 26′, latitude 10° 59′.

Sunday the 21st of April, the course N.N.W. with wind E.N.E. and N.E. Altitude 20° 40′, declination 11° 46′, latitude 8° 54′.

Monday the 22nd of April, course west and wind E. and E.S.E., 40 leagues by dead reckoning. Altitude 20° 40′, declination 11° 46′, latitude 9° 13′.

Tuesday the 23rd of April, course west with the same wind, 36 leagues by dead reckoning. Altitude 21° 40′, declination 12° 27′, latitude 9° 13′.

Wednesday the 24th of April, course west with east wind, 45 leagues by dead reckoning. Altitude 22° 10′, declination 12° 46′, which gives 9° 24′.

Thursday the 25th of April, same course and wind, 40 leagues. Altitude 22° 30′, declination 13° 6′, latitude 9° 24′.

Friday the 26th of April, same course and wind, 36 leagues. Altitude 22° 50′, declination 13° 26′, latitude 9° 24′.

Saturday the 27th of April, same course and wind, 40 leagues. Altitude 23° 10′, declination 13° 45′, latitude 9° 25′.

Sunday the 28th of April, same course and wind but finer, 25 leagues. Altitude 23° 30′, declination 14° 23′, latitude 9° 17′. At night we sighted land and sounded in 28 to 30 fathoms. We stood off until midnight, then standing to N. b. E. in sight of the coast.

On Tuesday the 30th of April we sighted Cape San Agustin at daylight with fine weather. In the afternoon we saw a vessel north of Cape San Agustin, being the first we had seen since leaving Rio de Janeiro. We stood to arms in case it should be a pirate, but it turned out to be a merchant vessel bound for Angola. It was late when we came to off the coast, anchoring in ten fathoms at the entrance of Pernambuco.

May.

At dawn on Wednesday, the 1st of May, we made sail to enter the port of Pernambuco, happy at having arrived there in safety.

At Pernambuco they were astonished at the shortness of our passage. All the pilots and sea-faring people could hardly believe that we had made the voyage. Here we refitted, and took in wood and water, and other things that were necessary. We found here 28 ships laden with sugar for the kingdom of Portugal. On the 12th and 13th of May, being Sunday and Monday, 13 more sugar ships arrived from Bahia, to join company with those in this port, and with them a fine fleet was formed of 40 ships great and small.

Fifth and last Voyage from Pernambuco to the bar of San Lucar de Barrameda.

On Tuesday the 14th of May we left the port of Pernambuco on our return to Spain, with a S.E. wind, steering N.N.E., in company with the fleet that assembled here, and made 15 leagues by dead reckoning.

On Wednesday the 15th of May the course was N. b. E. with the wind S.E. and E.S.E., 20 leagues by dead reckoning.

On Thursday the 16th of May the course was north with the wind E. and E.S.E. We took the altitude 23° 40′, declination 29° 2′, giving a result 4° 33′.

Friday the 17th of May, course north with S.W. wind. Altitude 22°, declination 19° 16′, giving 0° 44′.

Saturday the 18th of May, course north with a S.E. wind. Altitude 20°, declination 19° 29′, gives 0° 31′.

Sunday the 19th of May, course north with a S.E. wind, 20 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

Monday the 20th of May, same course and wind, 20 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

Tuesday the 21st of May, a cross sea, rain and ugly weather with calms. Made no way at all.

Wednesday the 22nd of May, another bad day.

Thursday the 23rd of May, fine weather with wind north veering all round the compass. Altitude 16° 30′, declination 20° 32′, giving 4° 2′.

Friday the 24th of May, the course was N.N.W. with a N.E. wind. Altitude 20° 43′, declination 15° 45′, giving 4° 58′.

Saturday the 25th of May, course N.N.W. and wind N.E. to E.N.E. Altitude 15°, declination 20° 45′, latitude 5° 45′.

Sunday the 26th of May, the same course. Altitude 14° 30′, declination 21° 5′, leaving 6° 35′.

Monday the 27th of May, same course and wind. Altitude 19° 20′, declination 21° 15′. Result 6° 55′.

Tuesday the 28th of May, course N. b. W. with a N.E. wind, 15 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun. To-day we parted company with the fleet, because some of the ships were so loaded that we should have lost time in keeping with them, also because they did not keep their stations, every morning finding them much scattered.

Wednesday the 29th of May, the course was N.W. b. N. with wind N.E. Altitude 12° 20′, declination 21° 35′, latitude 9° 15′.

Thursday the 30th of May, the course N.N.W. with wind N.E., 25 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

Friday the 31st of May, course N. b. W. and N.N.W. with wind N.E., 35 leagues by dead reckoning. Altitude 7° 40′, declination 21° 5′, latitude 13° 55′.

June.

Saturday the 1st of June, course N. b. W. with wind E.N.E., 40 leagues by dead reckoning. No sun.

Sunday the 2nd of June, course N. and N. b. E. with the same wind, 35 leagues by dead reckoning. Altitude 4°, declination 22° 9′, latitude 18° 9′.

Monday the 3rd of June, course the same, 45 leagues. No sun.

Tuesday the 4th of June, course north, 45 leagues. Took the altitude of the sun in the zenith, declination 22° 24′, placed us on the line on the north side.

Wednesday the 5th of June, course N.W., wind N.E. Altitude 1°, declination 22° 32′, giving 23° 31′.

Thursday the 6th of June, course N.N.W. with wind N.E. Altitude 3° 30′, declination 22° 28′, making 26° 8′.

Friday the 7th of June, course and wind the same. Altitude 5° 15′, declination 22° 44′, latitude 27° 59′.

Saturday the 8th of June, same course and wind. Altitude 7° 10′, declination 22° 50′, giving 30°.

Sunday the 9th of June, the course north with an easterly wind. Altitude 9°, declination 22° 55′, making 31° 55′.

Monday the 10th of June, the same course. Altitude 10° 20′, declination 23° 20′, making 33° 20′.

Tuesday the 11th of June, course N.N.E. with a N.W. wind and fine weather. Altitude 11° and declination 23° 5′, giving 34° 5′.

Wednesday the 12th of June, course E.N.E., northerly wind. Altitude 11° 30′, declination 23° 9′, making 34° 39′.

Thursday the 13th of June, course E.N.E. with fine weather, but we made little way. No sun.

Saturday the 15th of June, a calm. Altitude 11° 30′, declination 29° 19′, latitude 34° 49′.

Sunday the 16th of June. Calm, and made little way. No observation.

Monday the 17th of June, fine weather with an easterly wind. Altitude 12° 30′, declination 23° 23′, making 35° 53′.

Tuesday the 18th of June, course N.E. b. E., wind S. and S.W., fine weather. Altitude 13° 15′, declination 23° 25′, making 36° 40′.

Wednesday the 19th of June, course E.N.E. with south wind. Altitude 13° 20′, declination 23° 26′, making 36° 56′.

Thursday the 20th of June, N.E. b. E. with south and south-west wind, 25 to 30 leagues. Altitude 13° 50′, declination 23° 27′, latitude 37° 17′.

Friday the 21st of June, course east with a south wind, 35 leagues. Altitude 14°, declination 23° 27′, latitude 37° 17′.

Saturday the 22nd of June, the eve of the Lord San Juan Bautista, course N.N.E. with east wind and fine weather. We did not take an observation. Sighted three French pirates which followed us.

Monday the 24th of June, St John's day, the course

was N. b. W. and N.N.E. with wind E.N.E., and little of it. At daylight one of the vessels came up to us, in the fine weather they must have rowed all night. As we saw that she came by herself, we hove to, taking in all sail except those on the fore mast, and keeping in line, the *capitana* ahead. She came up at 8 in the forenoon, very haughtily, and threw out a Spanish flag, also playing on a drum and a trumpet. Coming within speaking distance, she hauled down the Spanish, and hoisted the white French flag. The order came for us to strike to the King of France. We replied that we had struck, that we came from Brazil with sugar, and that they could come on board. They fired their pieces, and both our vessels replied with our guns, and a volley of musketry. When the French ships saw that we were armed and prepared for war, they did not venture to board us. The wind freshened and we made all sail with the intention of tacking. When they saw this they hauled their wind and made off. We received no damage, blessed be God, except a ball in the mizen yard, which we fished with a spar. Altitude 15°, declination 23° 27′, latitude 38° 42′.

Tuesday the 25th of June the course was east with a southerly wind, about 8 leagues from Flores.

We arrived there at 10, and a boat came out to tell us that, on the same morning, six French ships had left the island. The wind went round to south and S.S.W. We steered east and E.S.E.

Wednesday the 26th of June we arrived at the island of Fayal, and during the night we were off San Jorge, as it had fallen calm. At night the wind sprang up from the S. and S.S.W.

On Thursday the 27th of June we anchored off the town of La Playa, in the island of Terceira. At night we made sail with the same wind.

Friday the 28th of June, with a south wind, San Miguel bore north and it was stormy all day.

On Saturday the 29th of June, the day of St Peter and St Paul, it was fine and we were still in sight of San Miguel. The altitude 15° 50′, declination 23° 16′, making 39° 6′. In the afternoon we sighted a sail which followed us until night.

Sunday the 30th of June the course was S.E. with an E.N.E. wind, 15 leagues. No sun.

July.

On Monday the 1st of July the course was S.E. with a N.E. wind, 30 leagues. No sun.

On Tuesday the 2nd of July the course was E.S.E. with wind N.E., 30 leagues. No sun.

On Wednesday the 3rd of July, course S.E. b. E., wind N.N.E., 25 leagues. No sun.

On Thursday the 4th of July, S.E. b. E. with the same wind, 30 leagues. No sun.

Friday the 5th of July, course east, wind N.N.E., 30 leagues. No sun.

Saturday the 6th of July, course east, wind N.N.E., 35 leagues. We took the altitude in 14° 30′, declination 22° 45′, latitude 37° 15′.

On Sunday the 7th of July, the course N.E. with a north wind, we sighted land at eight in the forenoon, recognizing the Cape of Sines to leeward. We anchored off Cape St Vincent at four in the afternoon. Here the Captain Gonzalo de Nodal landed, to make his report of the voyage to his Majesty, who was at Lisbon.

On Monday the 8th of July the Captain Bartolomè Garcia de Nodal made sail for San Lucar.

On Tuesday the 9th of July at noon he entered the bay of San Lucar de Barrameda with the caravels, where the voyage was ended, thanks to God, to the Virgin of Atocha and to the Virgin of Buen-Suceso.

LAUS DEO.

REMARKS

ON THE SOUNDINGS AND VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE

IT is very important, in this navigation, to know the variation of the needle. For this it will be necessary for the pilots to have standard needles[1] to observe the variation. With this object the needful observations were taken in both ships. The conclusion was that from Cape Frio to Cape Virgins and the new strait the variation is from 12 to 16 and 17[2] which comes to a quarter and half to the north. Carrying the needles two-thirds magnetized as we did on this voyage, we were always guided by them, both coming and going. Though the variation is more in one place and less in another, the one will be checked by the other. As far as Cape Virgins, in fair weather, as from the beginning of November the navigation is not very difficult, considering that it is all within soundings along the coast, as will be seen in this narrative, from 34 to 44, navigated by route, out of sight of land. The pilots are bound to take a great number of soundings. By order of your Majesty the store keepers are bound to supply 200 or 300 $\frac{\text{brazas}}{\text{fathoms}}$ for each ship, owing to the danger of losing them. Sailing

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[1] *agujas de marear.* The compass described by Hues in 1594, for taking the variation, was divided into 360, and had a thread placed across it, to cast the sun's shadow on the centre. It was called the "compass of variation."

[2] According to Hansteen the magnetic variation at Cape Virgins in 1600 was 12 E. Now it is 17.

onwards from 34°, although 40 or 50 leagues out at sea, soundings ought to be taken every day, the weather permitting, to a depth of 150 fathoms. Finding soundings the distance from the shore may be ascertained, each voyage increasing the number of soundings. Captains and Pilots ought to be required to keep books containing the soundings, with the position of the ship on each day. For according to what I have observed, I judge that bottom will be found in all parts at a distance of about 20 leagues from the land, as may be seen in the course of our narrative. Down to 44° we always found 55 or 66 fathoms and plenty of fish, and, as we could not see the land, we must have been 20 leagues from it and upwards, according to our calculation. In these parts, much further out at sea, bottom will be found, all the bottom being clear. And from 44° onwards, running along the coast, I cannot give more information than the above, though at Cape San Jorge, when there was a foul wind, we stood out to sea for eight leagues and sounded in 40 fathoms. We did the same off Cape Virgins. It is here to be observed that on finding stone, if it be at night or foggy weather, so that the land cannot be seen, it may always be assumed that land is near, for we never found stone except near the shore. Sailing with these precautions it will be impossible to err in the navigation, either as regards the variation or soundings. But the chief thing is to navigate in the summer, as has been said.

RULES[1]

TO KNOW THE VARIATION OF THE NEEDLE AT THE RISING AND SETTING OF THE SUN

First Rule.

If the Sun is observed to the east of the needle by the north, the Sun coming from north, and the degrees of the table are more than the degrees of the needle, you will say N.W., and if the degrees of the needle are more than those of the table you will say N.E., taking the number less than the degrees of the greater, and the remainder will be the variation.

Second Rule.

If the Sun is observed to the east of the needle by the south, and the Sun coming from north, join the number of degrees on the table to the degrees shown by the needle and the sum is the variation of the needle by N.W.; and at sunset, making this observation, you will say that it is N.E.

Third Rule.

If the Sun is observed to the east of the needle by the south, or the Sun is moving from south, and the degrees on the table are more than the degrees of the needle, you will say that it is north-east. Take the lesser from the greater number, and what remains will be the variation of the needle.

Fourth Rule.

If the Sun is observed to the east of the needle to the north, and the Sun is moving from the south, add the number of degrees on the table to those shown by the needle, and the sum is the variation of the needle from the

[1] These rules of the Nodals are reprinted in the *Descripcion geographica* of Francisco Seixas y Lovera.

north-east. If this observation is made at sunset, you will say that it is N.W.

Fifth Rule.

If the Sun is observed exactly to the east of the needle, and the Sun is moving from the north, you will say that the needle is to N.W., and if the Sun is moving from the south, N.E.; and the degrees shown on the table will be the variation.

Sixth Rule.

If the Sun is observed in any part mentioned above, and the degrees on the table are equal to those shown by the needle, you will say that the needle is fixed. If the Sun is observed in the east it will be the 21st of March or the 23rd of September[1].

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[1] With reference to these rules for finding the variation of the needle it is clear that reference is made to some table giving the true amplitude bearing of the sun at its rising and setting from the east and west points at different latitudes and times. The table was evidently numbered from 0 (true east and west) for a certain number of degrees each way towards the true north and south points. If this is borne in mind, and it is also understood that the card was numbered and divided in the same manner the rules become simple. The following diagram explains the first rule, and the others can be illustrated in a similar manner.

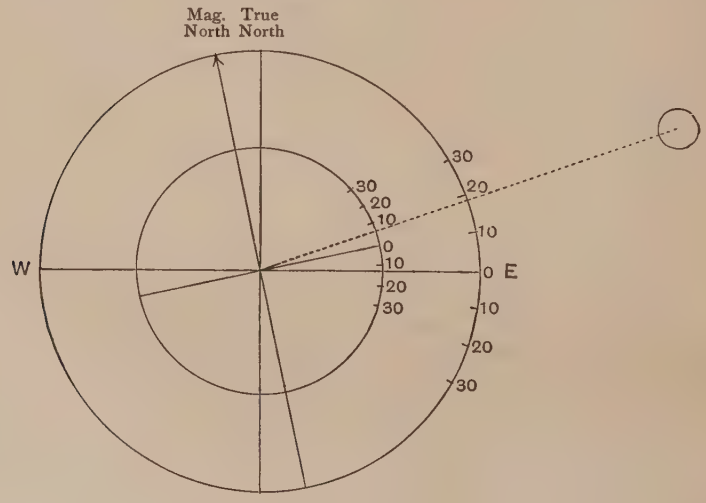

TABLE TO KNOW THE HOURS OF THE ARTIFICIAL DAY UNTIL IT REACHES THE NATURAL OF 24 HOURS IN ALL PARALLELS AND ALTITUDES FROM THE EQUINOCTIAL LINE, TO THE 66TH ½ DEGREE.

The first column shows the parallels, the second the height, the third the hours.

Parallels	Height ° ′	Hrs. Mins.	Parallels	Height ° ′	Hrs. Mins.
1	0	12	18	50.35	16.15
2	4.12	12.15	19	52	16.30
3	8.36	12.30	20	53.18	16.45
4	12.47	12.45	21	54.30	17
5	16.42	13	22	55.37	17.15
6	20.33	13.15	23	56.38	17.30
7	24.11	13.30	24	57.35	17.45
8	27.35	13.45	25	58.27	18
9	30.47	14	26	59.16	18.15
10	33.45	14.15	27	60	18.30
11	36.31	14.30			
12	39.3	14.45			
13	41.24	15			
14	43.33	15.15			
15	45.32	15.30			
16	47.21	15.45			
17	49.2	16	34	63.47	20.15

From 63° 47′ to 66° 30′ which makes the natural day of 24 hours, there are 2° 43′.

Note that each hour has 60 minutes[1].

[1] This useful table gives the duration of daylight (which Nodal calls the "artificial day")* in various latitudes from the equator to 66° 30′, when the sun has its highest declination; and the "artificial day"

* A day is twofold, natural and artificial. A natural day is defined to be the space of time wherein the whole equator makes a full revolution, and this is done in 24 hours. An artificial day is the space wherein the sun is passing through our upper hemisphere. Hues' *Tractatus de Globis*, p. 23 (Hakluyt Society).

would be 24 hours, the same as the natural day, i.e. on the arctic circle. The first column is headed Parallels. These parallels do not refer to parallels of latitude, but are the limits of small zones where the longest daylight varies by exactly a quarter of an hour. This is, to a certain extent, the same as the old Greek arrangement of climates or zones an hour apart*. The second column headed Height (*Altura*) is really the latitude, commonly referred to in those days as the *height* of the pole above the horizon, which is the same as the latitude. The third column shows the length of the artificial day (daylight) in the different latitudes given in the second column, at quarter of hour intervals.

* See *Tractatus de Globis*, p. 42.

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